No. 7 lourmal July 1997 cviv. Bospellor ancte Thon. rrst Chapte It the b was that n worde mas wit was thatt wor was in the bei aod. All then it and with a mosthiae th litwas lrfe light of m foderdin na sent flojor fame ca o it/thate menthatcon orlde ad the me orlde frieme unc/adhis cared hi crtobe ithatthe namer enotof willof rofthe of aod. bewas dowelt mclaw trasthe begoner ा ग्रहां हा मार

#### TYNDALE SOCIETY ADVISORY BOARD

Professor David Daniell, Chairman

Mrs Priscilla Frost, Secretary

Ms Rochelle Givoni, Administrator

Sir Edward Pickering, Emeritus Chairman

Mrs Gillian Graham, Emeritus Hon. Secretary

Canon John Oates, St Bride's, Fleet Street, London

Baroness James of Holland Park

Sir Anthony Kenny, Chairman, The British Library

Brian Lang, The British Library

Professor Sir Christopher Zeeman, Hertford College Oxford

Anthony Smith, Magdalen College Oxford

Sir Patrick Neill, All Souls College Oxford

Mrs Penelope Lively

Philip Howard, The Times

Sister Anne O'Donnell, CUA, Washington DC, USA

Professor John Day, St Olaf's College, MN, USA

Professor Peter Auksi, University of Western Ontario, Canada

Dr Guido Latré, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium

Professor David Norton, University of Wellington, NZ

Professor Carsten Peter Thiede, Paderborn, Germany

# The Tyndale Society

Chairman: Professor David Daniell

Secretary: Mrs Priscilla Frost

Treasurer: Mr Peter Baker

Administrator: Ms Rochelle Givoni

Address: 10B Littlegate Street

Oxford OX1 IQT

Telephone number: (01865) 791515 Fax number: (01865) 794695

Journal Editor (1997): Dr Hilary Day

25 Evesham Road North Reigate, Surrey RH2 9DW

Tel: (017372) 43687

## **CONTENTS**

Editorial	4
Bill Cooper: Fragments That Remain	5
Bruce Marsden: The Tindale-Tyndale Trail in Tynedale	8
Reformation Studies Colloquium, Oxford 1998	19
David Ireson: 'Spirit of Youth' Weekend at Wells Cathedral	21
Philip Tait: The New Testament and the Hebrew Scriptures	22
Vivienne Westbrook: Tyndale: New Discoveries	25
Ralph S. Werrell: Stuttgart Tyndale Bible	26
Editor: Invitation to Readers	29
Hilary Day: Post War Bible Translations:	
The New International Version	30
Bill Cooper: Gleanings from Foxe: Thomas Whittle	36
Bill Cooper: Gleanings from Foxe: The Coggeshall Heretics	41
Book Reviews:	
Hymns as Homilies by Peter Newman Brooks, reviewed by Hilary Day	44
The Lincoln Psalter by Gordon Jackson, reviewed by J C Davies	46
Conference Review:	
The Bible as Book: The Reformation reviewed by Orlaith O'Sullivan	50
Ralph S. Werrell: St Deiniol's Library	54
Mary Clow: Let There Be Light in New York	55
David Daniell: The Tyndale Exhibition in America (continued)	56
Society Notes	58
Calls for Papers:	
Revd. Ralph S. Werrell	59
Dr. Barry T. Ryan	59

Cover illustration by Paul Jackson, design by the Editor. Copyright of all material remains with the contributors.

ISSN: 1357-4167

## **Editorial**

In my last editorial I wrote that 1997 had started off with a bang, and I am happy to say that this issue of the Journal provides evidence that the Society is keeping up the momentum. The overriding message contained in these pages is that there is still much to do; there are so many areas of research still to be investigated, so many avenues still to explore. Those of us who were lucky enough to be at the Saturday seminar in London (report on page 25) came away with the feeling that in some ways we have only just begun to place Tyndale in his rightful place on the map. The exciting discovery of the Stuttgart Bible opens up the possibility of more finds; Bill Cooper's research is just one example of what can be done—his article tells us about his discovery of a new fragment in Tyndale's own hand—surely somewhere there must be more; Orlaith O'Sullivan's report on the Conference held in May by the Van Kampen Foundation and the Scriptorium, indicates how much valuable work is being carried out in the whole field of Reformation studies, opening up new horizons for Tyndale researchers.

Members continue to evangelise. Anne Hofflund kindly sent me a copy of the Christian Science Monitor from the U.S.A. which contained a double page centre spread about Tyndale and the Let There Be Light Exhibition. David Daniell has recently returned from Washington and he tells of the enthusiastic reception of the exhibition there (page 56), whilst Mary Clow reports on the New York exhibition (page 55). Mary has produced a children's educational pack entitled William Tyndale and the English Bible which will also be of interest to adults (further details from Orange Blossom Special, 273 South Lambeth Road, London SW8 1UH).

Spreading the word about Tyndale and the Tyndale Society is an ongoing priority and we plan to set up more organised and proactive schemes at grassroots level. More of this in future Journals.

It happily falls to me as editor to offer formal congratulations to members of the society for their recent achievements: to Joan Williams for her involvement in the Building of the Year award which went to the new library at Hereford Cathedral, home to the Mappa Mundi; and, following Labour's recent dramatic election victory, to Rt. Hon. Frank Field M.P. for his appointment as Minister of State for Social Security and Welfare Reform and to Rt. Hon. Frank Dobson M.P. for his appointment as Secretary of State

# Fragments That Remain

#### Introduction

It is hard to believe that there could be anything remaining from William Tyndale and his work that has not already been recognised, catalogued, referenced and talked about by scholars the world over. Yet only recently a third 1526 New Testament of his was discovered, and it has, what is more, the title page that the other two copies have always lacked. Much will be said in future about this new discovery, and we can only recommend to the interested reader that he or she look forward to the next (1998) edition of the Reformation journal, where all will be revealed. It promises to be quite a feast. Meanwhile, something else has come to light in recent weeks that may add a little more to our understanding of Tyndale's work and achievements.

In March and April of this year, at the request of David Daniell, I had the opportunity to examine the remaining papers of John Foxe, the martyrologist. These papers are held today in the Harleian and Lansdowne collections of manuscripts at the British Library, and my brief was to look for the two letters which Tyndale wrote to John Frith just before Frith was burned, and for Tyndale's modernisation into Tudor English of the trial of William Thorpe, an early Lollard who was burned as a heretic in the year 1407.

It was hoped that if the letters to Frith had survived, they would be the originals and not copies, and it was known that the copy of Thorpe's trial which Foxe printed, was in Tyndale's own hand, for Foxe himself states as much. Thus, the search was on for three specific items, only one of which would have added greatly to the surprisingly meagre material which survives from Tyndale, for hitherto the only item to have come down to us in his own hand, is the letter that Tyndale wrote from his prison cell at Vilvorde before he himself was burned at the stake.

(continued overleaf)

## Editorial (continued)

for Health. We wish them well. We look forward to hearing Frank Dobson's lecture at Lambeth this year (for details see the Society Notes).

A number of Conferences are planned for the forthcoming months and we encourage members to give them their full support. Exciting times lie ahead.

Hilary Day

#### A Great Disappointment

Alas, the search was fruitless. Although hundreds of papers survive from Foxe's collection, the most important of them, Tyndale's amongst them, were removed long ago, and now it would seem that they are lost forever. The collection that now remains was purchased in the 1690s from Foxe's then aged granddaughter, Alice, by the antiquarian, John Strype, from whose hands they passed to the Earl of Oxford and thus to the British Museum, where they formed the foundation of the modern British Library. They are an invaluable source of information, and there is a sufficient bulk of them remaining to keep generations of scholars fully occupied.

Yet what is lost is greater still. Priceless manuscripts and autographs are missing from the early Middle Ages onwards. What happened to them after John Foxe died, no one knows. They may have been sold off separately, stolen, or even inadvertently destroyed when someone cleared out the family attic one day, though it has to be said that the missing items seem to be missing more by design than chance, for an accidental and random loss would have ensured that some at least of the more important documents had survived. But however it came about, it is an irretrievable loss, and among those missing documents, of course, are Tyndale's letters and his edition of Thorpe's trial. Resting upon the safest assumption that the removal of all these items was deliberate (though perhaps not malicious), it would appear that one item of great importance was overlooked during the selection process. It is a mere fragment of a larger whole, and consists of two paper leaves in an early 16th century hand, but which hand, upon comparison with the Vilvorde letter, turns out to be none other than Tyndale's own!

#### The Lollard Tracts

It has often been wondered how Tyndale occupied his time in London whilst waiting for permission to translate the New Testament. We know from Foxe that he exercised a preaching ministry at the church of St Dunstan's in the West, but, and this is often overlooked by historians of the Reformation, we know also from Foxe that Tyndale worked into Tudor English several tracts that had come down from the earlier times of the Lollards, whose English was too archaic to be readily understood in the early 16th century. Among the tracts mentioned by Foxe, are the Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman, which Foxe printed in the 1570 edition of his Book of Martyrs, the trial of William Thorpe, and (very probably though Foxe doesn't say so) the testament of faith that appears in Foxe (1563) at the end of Thorpe's trial. All of these passed through Tyndale's expert hands as he translated them from their Middle English.

However, there was another tract which Foxe printed (1563) under the title A Compendious olde Treatise, shewing that we ought to have the scripture in English, which seemingly was originally authored in the late 14th century by Wycliffe's colleague, John Purvey. Foxe makes no mention of Tyndale in connection with the tract, vet the fragment in Tyndale's hand that now lies in the Harleian collection\*, is intimately related to the Compendious olde Treatise printed by Foxe. There are textual differences between the two, though these are more of arrangement than content, with a few minor additions and omissions here and there. But what made me curious when I first came across the fragment was not so much its content as its title, a title provided by John Strype when he was sorting out his newly acquired collection. He wrote at the head of the fragment's first folio, 'A Notable discourse for having the Bible in English in the time of Thomas Arundel Abp of Cant,' It was the name of Thomas Arundel that drew me to the document, because he it was who imprisoned, interrogated and finally burned William Thorpe back in 1407, and knowing the connection between Thorpe and Tyndale compelled a closer look. There was, after all, the possibility that this was another document by Thorpe, with the added and very obvious possibility that Tyndale had modernised it. This hope, though mistaken in an immediate sense, was fortuitous, for though the authorship of the original is attributable to another of Wycliffe's followers (Purvey), it did lead to the comparison of the fragment's calligraphy with that of the Vilvorde letter which we know is in Tyndale's hand. The outcome of that comparison was a positive match. There is not merely a general similarity of style, but such a closeness of fine detail between the two that cannot and never does arise by chance. A person's handwriting is as distinctive as a fingerprint. And that fact, reinforced by a considerable body of circumstantial evidence, points with great authority to the fragment's having been written in Tyndale's own hand. That is not all that the fragment tells us. Indeed, its contents open up whole fields of further investigation. It tells, for example, of a London man named Wervng who had in his keeping at the close of the 14th century a great Bible in English which was already some two hundred years old. It was written in 'northern speech', but who, we are forced to ask, was translating the Bible into English in the late 1100s? This is added fare indeed to the hitherto spare diet of pre-Wycliffite translations of the Bible. Yet that is just one of the matters raised by this important, vet unappreciated, fragment. Its subject, the translating of the scriptures into English, was, of course, very close to Tyndale's heart, and it may have been that he hoped its publication would help to sway the mind of Cuthbert Tunstall towards granting him a licence to translate the New Testament.

# The Tindale-Tyndale Trail in Tynedale

This three-part essay explores:

- 1. the background to the early history of Tin/Tyndales in the northeast
- 2. the history of the name Tindale from the 800's
- 3. The history of the name Tyndale from the 1200's to the time when the immediate forbear of the Translator is said to have left the northeast for Gloucestershire sometime in the mid-fifteenth century.

## PART 1: Background and Early History

#### Introduction

As a matter of geographical necessity the first Tyndales are assumed here to have their roots in the Tyne valley in the north of England; that is in Tynedale. See Map 1.

Whilst there remains a quantity of unresearched primary material of Northumberland families, despite incalculable losses, there is now a quantity of ordered secondary material, as shown in the Main Sources below. Only a few passages, however, are relevant to the present work and co-ordination and editing are necessary to focus the relevant information on Tin/Tyndale matters.

This secondary documentary material is 'honest' in the sense that it was not produced for the purposes of enhancing family names as has so often been the reason for genealogical research but in the interests of providing reliable recorded local history within which family histories figure. Failures and omissions, therefore, are not considered to be mischievous, but rather

## (continued from previous page)

In the event, the hope proved forlorn, although Tyndale can hardly have dreamt that 450 years later, his tract would enable scholars to peer even deeper into that grandest and most mysterious of events in the history of England and the Bible, the Reformation.

Bill Cooper

Harleian MS 425. folios 1 & 2.

Paley's Watchmaker, edited by Bill Cooper has just been published by New Wine Press, price £7.99.

due to oversight; error in transcription; genuine mistakes; or loss of primary documents. These sources should be taken in good faith though with a critical eve due to any of the possible defects outlined above.

The spellings of Tindale and Tyndale are carefully and purposefully delineated here. They are both pronounced in the same way, with a short i/y as in 'pit'. This differs from Tynedale in which the first 'e' emphasises the 'y' with a wy sound, as from the river Tyne. It is possible that both Tindale and Tyndale may have been pronounced in earlier times in the same way as today's Tynedale, and that the difference between the two today is simply orthographic being the result of spelling by writers (clerks) from various ethnic origins and at different historical times. That the Celtic Britons of the Tyne valley and adjoining uplands received Romans, Angles, Saxons, Vikings, Normans, French, Greek and Latin speaking clergy, within a span of less than a thousand years suggests that the written and spoken language(s) within the region became not only rich and varied but also at times culturally divisive before forming a recognizably English language. Even today, in our 'enlightened' age, the Geordie way of speaking is looked down upon by those who do not know better.

All accounts dealing with the life of the Translator presume without question that the spelling of the name is insignificant. Although Mozley (William Tyndale, 1937) relates that William Tyndale used Tindale (possibly, he suggests, in a Latin setting) and Tyndale (when he was in England), neither he nor anyone else has raised the question as to why the distinctive spelling of Tyndale should be in the frame at all. Is this because we are so used to seeing the river spelt Tyne? Commonly in the Middle English period the letters 'i' and 'y' were used interchangeably, perhaps even indiscriminately; but the significance of one family having their name spelt predominantly 'Tindale' and another family 'Tyndale' cannot be put aside without rather more consideration than has been accorded to date.

Here, I am concerned only with the Tin/Tyndales in the Tyne valley as revealed in the earliest records. This offering is tentative and cannot provide all the answers concerning the forebears of the Translator, but it may be possible to clear away some of the accumulated dross and show where future research is most likely to find some illumination. Only by showing some of the background covering the years before the Conquest to the Wars of the Roses in the mid-fifteenth century will it be possible to place the history of the Tin/Tyndales in their appropriate setting.

Official records of births, marriages, and deaths are most commonly found without any reference to contemporary events which would now be consider-

ed to be of historical significance; furthermore the focus of historical evaluations has broadened and shifted since the Victorian age when much research on early family histories, including Tyndale, was undertaken. In this present study the Conquest, by way of illustration, impacts upon people and families in ways which would hardly have been worthy of consideration to many historians of earlier ages. The administration of taxation imposed from London had the effect of requiring people and property to be properly identified by name so that taxes could be calculated and obtained; the tax collectors and other officials following the Conquest were mostly of Norman origin, bringing with them their own culture and ways of doing things, and their own language. Some of the effects of this will be seen in Parts 2 and 3.

The name Tyndale (so spelt) was 'assumed' by a William, son of John, son of Joel in Corbridge, a small town some 5 miles to the east of Hexham and outside the area usually attributed to the lordship of Tindale (discussed here in Part 1, and the use of the name family Tindale in Part 2). Joel is thought to have been a Breton and was a tax collector and reeve of Corbridge. Here, then, the family name Tyndale is first encountered, some time after about 1240. How this family came into existence and their subsequent history to the time of the Wars of the Roses is the subject of Part 3.

The tumultuous history of the north of England above the Tees, the Border country and southern Scotland can only be broadly sketched here, but it is important in indicating the extreme conditions affecting the lives of individuals. It is essential for any understanding of growth and change in families in a complex region such as the Tyne valley. We are dealing with real people, not merely names in registers or official records, yet that is how they have come down to us with but few exceptions. Aspects of social and political history, geography and language, combine to display how the Tin/Tyndales came into existence, how the spelling took on variants, and possible reasons for migrations.

Because the Tyne valley offers a convenient east-west route for invasion, settlement, and trade; and because it forms a natural division between north and south, the area has been subjected to considerable upheavals involving several peoples—Celts, Romans, Angles, Saxons, Vikings (Danes and Norwegians), Normans, Scots, and not least the English. Then, as now, 'the north' is frequently perceived from the standpoint of London as a far-flung province and definitely peripheral (as exemplified on motorway sign-posting); however, the view from within the Tyne valley is of a region at the focus of activities north-south and east-west (to Ireland and to the Baltic)—

often hostile, but always vigorous. How some of this history impacted on society and language as it affects Tin/Tyndale will be discussed later.

In seeking the possible beginnings of the Tyndale family in the Tyne valley. Northumberland, it is necessary to tread warily, and it is simply lack of space which limits perpetual repetition of cautionary phrasings.

#### The Placename of Tindale

Confusion is noticeable in the use of the word Tindale in historical accounts, particularly between the placename and the holding of land with or without a title. Tindale is the name of a geographical district; the name of a liberty (or regality, or franchise, or lordship); said to have been a barony; and a family name. Tyne valley is used here in its modern sense.

The unprepossessing hamlet of Tindale is situated in the county of Cumberland, very close to the borders of Northumberland and Durham, and adjacent to ancient Hexhamshure—an old 'peculiar' of the bishopric of York. It is set on the lower slopes of the north western fringe of the rugged Pennine hills, overlooking the Tyne Gap with Wark forest and Cheviot hills to the north. Close-by are Tindale Fells and Tindale Tarn, and the South Tyne is about five miles to the east. Its strategic importance is evident on a topographical map. The hamlet of Tindale seems to have had very little significance in the history of the region, whereas the liberty of Tindale figures strongly. The hamlet was never a 'seat' of the lordship; it seems simply to have provided the name for ancient geographical place-name reasons.

## The Liberty and Lordship of Tindale

The area of land with properties comprising the liberty of Tindale was located astride the borders of present-day Cumberland and Northumberland, comprising principally the valleys of the North and South Tyne and the stretch of the Tyne connecting them—that is, from Haltwhistle to Dilston, but excluding Hexham. See Map 2.

Long before William imposed his will in England, the heir-apparent to the crown of Scotland was also prince of Cumberland which included title to the lordship of Tindale—in the same way that the Prince of Wales is heir-apparent to the present United Kingdom. This lordship appears to have been first held by Alpin in about 833. The boundary of the lordship at this time is not known (if it ever was clearly defined), but it probably did not include the parts of present-day Northumberland which were later an integral part. The lordship was held under the inheritance laws of tanistry, and the Scots

claimed it for many generations after the Conquest. The kings of Scotland and England through the house of Stewart are descended from the line of the lords of Tindale, and the present monarch is also descended from the house of Wessex through the female line. Hence, some of the considerable interest by earlier genealogists in attempting to trace the pedigrees of the Tin/Tyndales.

An outline history of the lordship of Tindale is indicative—on a local scale—of the widespread state of social turmoil in the English north from before the times of the Norman invasion to beyond the end of the reign of Elizabeth I and the uniting of the Scottish and English crowns under James VI of Scotland, James I of England in 1603. These aspects of the wider history impinge on the early history of the Tin/Tyndale lineage and may provide some insights as to when, how, and perhaps why, the name (in whatever form) came to be found in other parts of England by the 1400's. Many dates in national and regional history have resonances in the central topic discussed here; it is not too fanciful to point to general connections even if specifics cannot yet asserted.

## **Essential Pre-Norman Historical Context of the Region**

Before the Roman legions arrived in England in AD. 43, Britain is thought to have been populated by Celtic tribes which in differentiated forms extended across Europe to the near east. During the 300s Rome established Britannia Secunda in the northern provinces and sought to govern the region mainly if not entirely from York. Although there was trade north and south of the Hadrian's Wall (begun about 120), the Picts breached the Wall several times in the late 300s, apparently with assistance from Germanic tribes. The Romans withdrew from Britain around 410, leaving a transformed but physically vulnerable England; and with present-day Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall still largely Celtic and with powerful family and other connections to the Celtic peoples of the western fringes of France. What is often overlooked is that the north of England above at least the river Tees (that is, including Durham) also retained a hardy and persistent Celtic inheritance despite later invasions and settlement—which survives, less overtly, even today.

By the early 400s Romanized Britons and Celts notably in Wales were compiling records of their ancestors, and by the 700s fanciful pedigrees depicted origins back to Adam. The earliest written records date from the 800s. When the Germanic tribes of Angles and Saxons arrived in force on British shores they brought their own pagan genealogies, tracing their

origins back to the Woden. Apart from the highly restricted use of runes and oghams neither Celts nor Germanic tribes were literate, but Roman writing survived and was subsequently adapted to express in written form the Celtic and Germanic languages—and was mightily transformed in the process.

The Anglo-Saxons introduced an aristocratic hierarchy over the remaining Celts who had not been driven west to Wales (mainly) and adapted their royal pedigree on Christianization to include Adam by way of Seth, son of Noah. That Adam (as in Adam de Tindale—see Part 2) was a commonly found name in the north for generations after the Conquest tells much about the survival of Celtic life—and not only in the lower (conquered) classes.

By the mid-500s the North Humbrians became established between the Humber and the Forth in the name of two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira, the division between the two kingdoms being along the Tees.

Early in the 600s Bernicia had been constituted into the powerful Anglo-Saxon heptarchal kingdom of Northumbria, mainly through strategic marriages to daughters of the Deiran and Pictish (present-day Scottish) royal families. The Picts, perhaps uniquely in Europe at that time, still practised matrilinear succession. As will be seen, different systems of inheritance (of property and title) figure prominently in the medieval north England and in Scotland; tanistry and primogeniture being the main forms. Inheritances in the Tin/Tyndales lines reflect that for the Scottish crown, whose heirs were lords of Tindale, and are no less complex, and may have been a factor in the remarkable events in the family history at the time of the Wars of the Roses.

The Roman Christian embassy under Augustine from 597 succeeded in the south, but Paulinus who led the northern mission in the late 620s was forced to flee the north in about 633, and later York where he was archbishop. The first permanent Christianization was from the Irish connection by way of Iona in about 635.

Northumbria came to the forefront of European culture in the late 600s through the 700s with many names of considerable resonance including Bede, Willibrord, Wilfrid, Aidan and Cuthbert; and Alcuin of York became eminent in the court of Charlemagne in the late 700s. Craft work in jewelry and enamelling especially are renowned today as are the Lindisfarne Gospels for their exquisite workmanship. Such outstanding works were not isolated instances but part of a comprehensive, if short-lived, movement. But the so-called Northumbrian Renaissance was brought to an abrupt conclusion when the monastic island of Lindisfarne was sacked in the first Viking (Danish) onslaught of 793; though the main invasions were in the succeeding century when York was taken in 866. Meanwhile the Norwegian

Vikings had imposed their will in taking Dublin in 841. The effect the pagan Vikings had on Christianity and culture in the north was devastating. Whilst the Anglian and Saxon invasions of the Tyne and to the north had been from the sea, the Danes, now established in what had been Deira, occupied the former Bernicia by land from the south.

Whilst Bede (writing in 731) used the recently produced term Northumbria to indicate the greater kingdom of Bernicia with Deira, the term has also been applied when Deira alone was intended. Similarly the term Vikings has embraced Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes but often is used to denote specifically the Norwegians. Their cultures are often hard to distinguish, so caution in conclusions is necessary. What appears to have been the case is that Danes settled extensively north of the Tyne (as well as north of the Humber from their base at York), whereas Norwegians raided but did not permanently settle in significant numbers north of the Tees. But they did so most strikingly under Halfdan in 874 when the community of St Cuthbert was forced to flee Norham (near Lindisfarne) for Carlisle with the body and relics of their Saint (later finding rest at Chester-le-Street from 883, then Ripon from 995, and finally Durham from 999). From the late 800s the old kingdom of Northumbria was divided into a Danish kingdom with its headquarters at York, and an Anglo-Saxon kingdom based on Bamburgh extending as far south as the Tees. Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland were never a part of the Danelaw which ceased at the Tees. This was the northern extent also of the Domesday Book records.

In about 918 the Vikings under Ragnall came from Ireland, invading by way of the Clyde, routed the Scottish and Northumbrian opposition at Corbridge (lying in the heart of Tin/Tyndale lands), and went on to take York from the Danes. Scotland was again invaded from the south in about 933. This Hiberno-Northumbrian kingdom lasted to 954 when Athelstan the Anglo-Saxon king of Wessex took the Viking kingdom based at York. Northumberland was now in the hands of hereditary Anglo-Saxon earls, it being no longer a separate kingdom. Extensive territory in Cumbria was ceded to the Scots in 945 and Lothian was ceded in 975, bringing the northern boundary to the Tweed.

This was the position until 1041 when the Anglo-Danish kings of England replaced the line with one of their own, namely Siward who was already earl of York—he was now effectively earl of the two ancient kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, and subservient to the Anglo-Danish kings. Siward, in 1054 and under the command of Edward the Confessor, invaded Scotland with the purpose of restoring the throne to Malcolm III (Canmore) then held

by the usurper Macbeth. Although the battle fought at Dunsinane in Perthshire was not entirely decisive, Macbeth was defeated and he contrived his escape from the battlefield. This was the battle immortalised by Shakespeare in the dramatic tragedy whose name must not be spoken.

### The Lordship of Tindale After the Conquest

Northumbria survived into medieval times comprising numerous privileged enclaves where the king's writ did not run and providing a haven for people seeking refuge—often for criminal activities, sometimes for resisting political authority. The most important of these enclaves were the palatinate of Durham and the liberties of Redesdale and Tindale.

The geographical situation of the liberty of Tindale shows it to be a potential buffer-zone, or rather a perpetual war-zone, between the Scots (Scots, Norwegian Vikings, Cumbrians) to the west and north, and the English (Northumbrians centred at Banburgh, Danes and Wessex based at York) to the east and south. It was located strategically across the borders of Cumbria and Northumbria at the Tyne Gap. The Pennines and the Cheviots were virtually impenetrable without direct approval of the local warlords (families or clans); indeed it seems that remnants of earlier Celtic kingdoms held sway in these uplands. Whilst there are many castles in the area these are mainly of later date, and it is perhaps puzzling why greater defensive structures were not erected between, say Haltwhistle and Corbridge. The answer may lie in the ultimate power of the indigenous inhabitants of the uplands or Border country who were capable of circumventing any static structure which would have required regular soldiers for maintenance and supply; but also there was no great wealth to make it worthwhile for the crown (Scottish or English) to defend on a permanent basis. The upland region has long been renowned for providing horses and ponies to the crown for warring at home and abroad; their most valuable sources of their albeit modest wealth also provided, then, great mobility. The natives were always restless, did not like interference from outsiders, and could also move swiftly over dangerous ground and at night. Much of the warfare in this region from the earliest times outlined here and until after 1603 was guerilla in nature; was family based, but without a greater cause than survival and selfpreservation. Historically the liberty of Tindale was a Chicago (gangster families), Corsica (feuding families), Belgium (geographically vulnerable), and the American Wild West all rolled into one.

In a piece of purple prose Hodgson expounds on the franchise of Tindale about this time:

Though no gracious star shines on page containing record or tradition respecting the origin of the franchise of Tindale, nor voice rises on either side of the æra of the Conquest to tell, in authentic terms, how the kings of Scotland became chief lords of it; yet conjecture, ever fertile in her resources, can discover probabilities sufficiently profound and broad to build the superstructure of their title upon.

Scottish title to the sceptred lordship of Tindale including the Northumberland parts, probably originated in the time of Edward the Confessor (1042–66) with the marriage of king David I of Scotland with Maud, daughter of Waltheof, and grand-daughter of Siward, both great Danish earls of Northumberland. Waltheof (by way of marriage to Judith, niece of the Conqueror) was also earl of Huntingdon and of Northampton-shire; this may have nothing at all to do with any future history of the Tin/Tyndales but it is noteworthy nonetheless as that name occurs in Northamptonshire at an early date. There may have been a line or route of feudal service connecting the franchise of Tindale to the lands and properties of these two earldoms which may have afforded a path for people in Tindale to follow or be compelled to travel.

Although William claimed England, the Scots were not keen to readily give up the Border country—including the lordship of Tindale. The regality of Northumbria had an anterior legitimacy based on the ancient kingdom and the more recent earldom of Northumbria, and it was more easily allowed some latitude because of its distance from London and the proximity of the warfaring Scots. William therefore prudently endorsed the earldom whilst demanding allegiance, having established his presence there in the 'harrying of the north'. Whether this was the 'scorched earth' policy to reduce the value of the land to invaders as some commentators believe is another matter. The first written appearance of Northumberland in the contracted form of the modern county occurs in 1065.

Malcolm III (ca.1031-93) was the son of Duncan who was slain by Macbeth in 1040, and spent his formative years with his uncle, earl Siward in Northumberland. He married Margaret who had been born in Hungary, and had five sons, four of whom succeeded him—Duncan, Edgar, Alexander I (ca.1077-1124, married the natural daughter of Henry I of England) and David I (ca.1080-1153, king from 1124). Malcolm III invaded Northumberland five times between 1061 and 1093, in which year he was slain at Alnwick.

In the right of his wife Matilda, daughter of Waltheof and Maud, king David I of Scotland had a claim on the earldom of Northumberland which king Stephen disputed. An agreement was reached in 1135, but David took

to force and ravaged Northumberland, but was roundly defeated at the battle of Standard, near Northallerton, in 1138. A treaty between Stephen and David, signed at Durham in 1139 allowed the claim by David to the earldom of Northumberland as heir to earl Waltheof. But just to compound the complexity, it was agreed that the barons of Northumberland might do homage to David's son Malcolm IV (as tanist heir), but that fealty was due to Stephen. Formally, now, the heir to the Scottish crown was recognised by the king of England as earl of Northumberland.

There were two earls between 1139 and 1157 at which time Henry II took the earldom of Northumberland into his own hands from Malcolm IV (who was only 16), compensating the Scottish kings with the lordship of Tindale and lands in Cumberland. The family name of Tindale (in the form de Tindale) first comes to our notice following the introduction of Norman administration in the region at just this time (see Part 2).

William (the Lion and brother of Malcolm IV, whom he succeeded in 1165) was the first lord of Tindale in this renewed line, which was subsequently to include John Balliol and Robert (the) Bruce between 1290 and 1329. In 1296 and 1297 William Wallace raided Corbidge and other settlements in the area in which the family of Tyndales resided, and a little later Edward II set about bringing Scotland to heel only to be defeated by Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314. War was virtually continuous during that century through to the early 1400s, with the Scots reaching deep into England and the English well into the highlands. Where anyone thought the border was in practice was often by guesswork, whatever the strength of claims on each side; certainly so far as the ordinary folk were concerned the border as such was of little moment to them—except as to whom claimed taxes, and that depended on actual authority. As in the times of the division of the ancient kingdom by the Romans, every family had relatives on both sides of any border the authorities cared to delineate.

It is sometimes unclear whether the lordship 'belonged' to the Scottish or English (or Northumbrian) throne, because being a franchise, liberty, or privileged enclave, it was 'traded' on paper. To rule or govern the area as an outsider such as the Normans or at other times the Scots (their headquarters were well to the north at Strathclyde and elsewhere) was well nigh impossible until the unification of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603; and this after three centuries of almost continual warfare and civil strife subsequent to William Wallace's devastating excursions in the late 1290s. These were the heydays of the Border Reivers when so many of the famous Scottish and Border names came to the fore.

The lordship of Tindale was taken by Edward I on the death of Alexander III of Scotland in 1286, which prompted an upsurge in Scottish nationalism (if that is not too modern a term) led by Wallace but with John Balliol and/or Robert Bruce at the official head. Later Edward I restored the liberty to Balliol, who in turn granted the liberty of Wark in Tindale to Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, upon whose death in 1311 the English crown resumed possession.

Subsequently remaining with the crown the lordship was granted out to many individuals, until James I of England finally disposed of it to George Home, lord Home of Berwick, afterward earl of Dunbar. When he died in 1611 he left two daughters as coheiresses, and the manor, or lordship, of Wark in Tindale (a major portion of the lordship of Tindale) passed to the earl of Suffolk, who sold it to Francis Radcliffe in 1665 who thus became possessed of considerable lands in Tindale as he was also baron of Dilston, and viscount of Langley, in addition to being the earl of Derwentwater. All these lands, titles and properties were confiscated from James Radcliffe, earl of Derwentwater, when he was attainted and then beheaded at Tower Hill, London, for his part in the Jacobite uprising of 1715. They were eventually granted to the Commissioners of the Greenwich Hospital, and the manor of Wark was sold by them to the duke of Northumberland, who retains the property to the present time.

Langley and Dilston figure prominently in the history of the Tindales and Tyndales, as will be seen in Parts 2 and 3. The tiny post-Reformation recusant chapel at Dilston still exists, and in a small window recess a spray of fresh flowers is laid each day alongside a small notice referring to the 'true King'.

Bruce Marsden

#### **Main Sources**

John Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, Part ii in three volumes, for the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1827, 1832, 1839. [John Hodgson was Secretary of the Society, but at his death in 1845 this work devoted to parochial history was uncompleted.]

A History of Northumberland, published for the Northumberland County History Committee, 15 volumes (Newcastle upon Tyne 1983–1940). This continued Hodgson's work to include parishes of the entire county.

John Hodgson Hinde, A History of Northumberland, Part I, for the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, (Newcastle upon Tyne 1858).

Robert Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, 3 vols, 1816-40.

- Margaret F. Moore, The Lands of the Scottish Kings in England, London 1915.
- Kenneth Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain, University of Edinburgh Press, 1953.
- W. Percy Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, in two volumes; for The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, vol I, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1968–70.
- The sources for histories of the Border region are extensive, the following being a useful and accessible selection:
- A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland. The Making of the Kingdom, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1975.
- P.H Sawver, From Roman Britain to Norman England, Methuen & Co, London, 1978.
- William E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, University of N Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1979.
- Frank Musgrove, The North of England, A History ..., Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1990.
- Nigel Pennick, The Secret Lore of Runes and other Ancient Alphabets, Rider, London, 1991.

Richard Lomas, North-East England in the Middle Ages, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1992.

# Reformation Studies Colloquium, Oxford 1998 Wadham College, 30 March – 1 April 1998

The Reformation Studies Colloquium was begun in the early 1970s by a group of scholars working on the reformation in the English localities. This research issued eventually in a ground-breaking series of local studies. The Colloquium however widened its scope and has continued to be held every two years.

# Next year from 30 March to 1 April the Colloquium is to be held in Oxford for the first time since 1982.

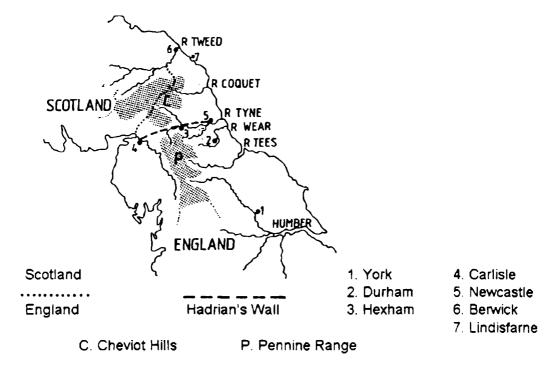
Keynote speakers will include Dr Christopher Haigh of Christ Church, Oxford, and Professor Andrew Pettegree of the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute.

The Colloquium is always an excellent opportunity to hear of the latest work in progress.

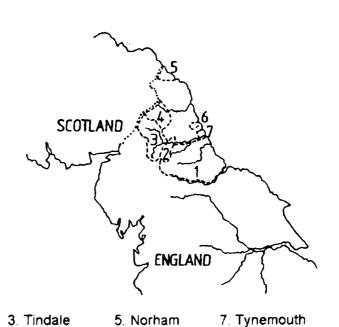
The full residential cost for the three days of the conference will be in the region of £125, including a non-returnable £25 desposit.

Those interested either in attending or contributing should register their names with

Dr Felicity Hall, Jesus College, Oxford OX1 3DW Further information will then be sent out in the autumn.



Map 1: Regional Geography



6. Bedlington

Map 2: Liberties of the Region

4. Redesdale

Redrawn from Musgrove (1990)

1. Durham

2. Hexham

# 'Spirit of Youth' Weekend at Wells Cathedral

In 1996 Tyndale's anniversary on 6th October coincided with the bi-annual 'Spirit of Youth' event for 500 teenagers at Wells Cathedral. My agenda was to see if youngsters today could really be interested in a man who was culturally and historically miles apart from them. There was little problem; a man of his stature can touch the hearts of all. Tyndale wanted the ploughboy of his day to turn to the Gospel; the weekend was an exercise to see if the 'checkout girl' of today might be encouraged to do the same.

The youngsters camped in a huge field behind the Cathedral and the moated Bishop's Palace. In the centre was a marquee of circus tent proportions from which loud music penetrated every corner of the city of Wells. Throughout the weekend there were Tyndale-related events.

The Saturday was taken up with workshops. Pairs of old jeans were collected, crushed into pulp and a group spent the whole day making paper (with a pleasant blue tinge) on which they hand printed a passage from Tyndale (John 12). I worried that the youngsters involved would get fed up and want to go canoeing on the moat or whatever, but no; they stuck at it. Another workshop learned how to approach Medieval caligraphy. Patricia Humphries, the Cathedral librarian, took small groups around an exhibition of early books in the Cathedral library. We saw the signature of Erasmus and a book he had owned and in which he had extensively added notes in the margin. The early printed Bibles and prayer books interested even the youngest teenagers; when one is immersed in one's subject enthusiasm is infectious. This was a real highlight of the weekend. There was a computer workshop which attracted many. With half a dozen CD Roms from Lion Publishing a Tyndale trail was set for the youngsters to follow. They followed the clues easily, being more interested in being able to manipulate the computers rather than to read in depth about the man.

The main event of the weekend took place on the Saturday night. In the marquee there was a concert and service. This ended with a short drama set in Vilvoorde Castle the night before Tyndale was executed. I had written an imaginary dialogue between the Captain of the Guard and Tyndale. The marquee went silent and the youngsters listened ... it was a relief. I had managed to persuade the actor Geoffrey Collins who often works for BBC radio and television to play the part of Tyndale. He insisted on absolutely

authentic distressed costumes and days of rehearsal. It was quite an ordeal for me to play the part of the Captain of the Guard. I shall be very wary of trying to work with a real professional actor again ... they rightly expect absolute perfection! Bishop Jim Thompson then spoke and a torchlight procession wound its way out of the marquee, past the moat and into the Cathedral ... symbolizing the spread of the Gospel in English after Tyndale's death. On entering the Cathedral each youngster was given a copy of the Bible Society's Contemporary English Version of John's Gospel with a special 'Spirit of Youth' cover printed with the theme words 'Get a Life'. A thousand candles were lit, representing the spread of enlightenment which followed the Gospel's acceptance in English. I had desperately wanted to have a set of colour slides taken from the film God's Outlaw. Visually this film was a triumph, but too long to show to such a large body of teenagers. Such a set of slides would be invaluable for members of the Society wanting to give a talk. There could be additional slides of actual texts and places. I strongly believe that illustrated slide lectures are better than the most professionally produced videos which people tend to watch so passively.

I would like to think that each and every youngster who spent the weekend at Wells enjoyed themselves enormously, but also had time for quiet prayer and time to reflect upon the faith and achievement of an extraordinary man who died over 400 years ago.

David Ireson

# The New Testament and the Hebrew Scriptures

Reg Whittern draws attention to Jesus' use of the Old Testament (Tyndale Society Journal No.6 p.51), thereby opening up the whole question of the New Testament use of quotations from the Old Testament. My impression is that many readers and commentators are embarrassed by the New Testament handling of the Old Testament, as in these two examples, taken at random from The International Bible Commentary (Marshall Pickering/Zondervan 1986): 'This type of argument is uncongenial to the modern mind, but ...' and 'In a fashion typical of this writer, the OT is now called upon ... he feels free to apply to Christ the exalted language of the OT ...' (on Galatians 4:21–31 and Hebrews 1:5–14 respectively). But, with all due respect to the learned authors, this is not good enough: what the New Testament reader wants to know is whether the Old Testament really means what the New Testament writers

claim, or whether they are twisting it for their own purposes.

The present study does not claim to deal with this question exhaustively. It considers Hebrews 1:A-2:B [1:1-2:9], a short section which deals with the truth that Jesus is the son of God, and in which the Old Testament is quoted eight times.

Psalm 2:7, quoted at Hebrews 1:B [1:5a]: Faced with a threat from his enemies, David declares that his position is nevertheless secure, because God has, as it were, adopted him as his own son. David is writing about his own empire and his own problems; but as he writes he glimpses one who shall succeed him who will be the son of God in the fullest sense, whose rule really will extend through the whole earth, whose judgement will be solely the judgement of God against sin, and it is in this sense that our writer quotes the psalm.

2 Samuel 7 [7:14], quoted at Hebrews 1:B [1:5b]: Nathan tells David that the task for which God made him king was that of overcoming the people's enemies and establishing the new nation. This is to be continued by David's house, and especially by David's son and first successor. But the building of David's house is only a pointer to what God will do through the son of David whose kingdom will last for ever [2 Samuel 7:13b,16], and it is in this fuller sense that our writer quotes the passage.

Deuteronomy 32 [32:43], quoted at Hebrews 1:C [1:6]: The writer quotes, as he usually does, from the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint. Normally, like Tyndale, we prefer the traditional Hebrew text, but in this case the oldest manuscript, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, agrees with the Septuagint. Combined with the fact that this writer quotes the longer reading, it is clear that this is correct. Modern versions quote it in the margin, or incorporate it into the text. Moses calls on the people of God to praise God as their defender and avenger, and on the angels to join in; since our writer has already argued that Jesus is God, and the one who carries out God's good purposes towards his people (Hebrews 1:A [1:3]), he quite consistently maintains that the praise of Deuteronomy 32 is due to him.

Psalm 104:4, quoted at Hebrews 1:C [1:7]: According to the Hebrew text, the physical creation carries out God's will, with wind and flame acting as his messengers. The Septuagint (followed by Coverdale) turns this round, and says that the angels serve him as readily as these unstable elements. And in view of our writer's argument that Jesus is God, it is quite consistent for him to maintain that this service is given to him.

Psalm 45:7,8 [45:6,7], quoted at Hebrews 1:C [1:8,9]: The psalm declares that David's kingdom will last for ever, because it was founded by God and is therefore based on justice and righteousness; but David and his successors,

like all human rulers, were mortal. The ultimate glory of the house of David was that it would end in the coming of the Messiah, whose kingdom would literally last for ever. The writer to the Hebrews declares that this Messiah is the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and applies the text to him.

Psalm 102:25-27, quoted at Hebrews 1:C,D [1:10-12]: To this psalmist, who is in some trouble, the greatness of God's creation is the ground of his hope for the future. He looks back to gain the confidence to go forward; and when an Old Testament writer looks forward, it is natural for a Christian to believe he is looking forward to Jesus Christ.

Psalm 110:1, quoted at Hebrews 1:D [1:13]: This psalm is quoted more than any other in the New Testament, and especially in Hebrews, where the writer clearly regards it as central to everything he has to say about Jesus Christ. In v.1 God appoints someone to exercise lordship. He is in the place of honour and power, and is thus certain to overcome his enemies, who are God's enemies. This one is superior to David, for he is David's Lord. Our writer maintains that he can only be the coming Messiah, the saviour, the one we know as Jesus Christ, so he quotes this (having already alluded to it at 1:A [1:3]) to show that Christ's place in heaven is unique.

Psalm 8:4-6, quoted at Hebrews 2:B [2:8,9]: If Jesus has triumphed, as the writer maintains in chapter 1, this is not altogether clear from the way the world is. So he turns to another psalm to explain why. David asks why God should notice man, and concludes that there is no reason, except that God glorifies his own name in doing so. But he does more than notice man: he honours him. He made him the crown of creation, a little lower than the angels, and put the whole universe under his control. The teaching of the Old Testament is that the glory that God gave man at his creation was not enough: he fell into sin, and his rule of the universe has been a disaster. Only in Christ is this psalm perfectly fulfilled.

I conclude that our writer has added nothing to the passages he quotes. While he goes beyond the literal sense of the originals, he shows in every case that to a Christian they really do speak of Christ, because the spiritual principles underlying them are exactly the same as those underlying the faith of the New Testament. Christianity is based on Old and New Testaments alike, and Tyndale was right in his effort to provide scholarly and popular translations of Hebrew and Greek scriptures alike.

Philip Tait

[All references are to Tyndale's translations, except in the psalms, where I have followed Coverdale. KJV references are added in square brackets where this would be helpful.]

## A half-day seminar, Saturday 26th April

Well for those of you who were not able to join us, this was a delightful morning and a wonderful opportunity to renew friendships. The Tyndale Society Seminar was once again hosted by University College London.

After a brief welcoming address by our society Chairman, Professor David Daniell. Dr Eberhard Zwink of the Wurttenbergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart gave us an insight into the secret history of the second copy of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament. This was a fascinating and well illustrated lecture that offered hope that more Tyndalia is out there just waiting to be discovered. This New Testament is currently in New York but it will be returning home to Stuttgart in September. We now have a titlepage for the 1526 New Testament which, we now know, George Joye used for his 1534 New Testament revision.

The second lecture was to have been given by Jane Carr but, unfortunately, she was unable to join us. In her stead Professor Daniell shared some of her thoughts with us about the highly successful Tyndale exhibition *Let There Be Light* which attracted 42,000 visitors during four months at its British Library location.

Dr Kimberley Van Kampen divulged some of the secrets and the pleasures of the book collecting world. Her enthusiasm for old books started whilst still a student and the substance of her lecture was taken largely from her own experience of collecting rare books. Having successfully whetted our appetites for a trip to Michigan, through her discussion of some of the exciting items in the Scriptorium, Michigan, collection, she paid homage to the fine materials that have ensured the survival of so many important books.

Professor Daniell completed the morning's lectures by delivering the research findings of Bill Cooper, who has been working with the British Library's Foxe papers. Professor Daniell indicated that there was still a great deal of work to be done on William Tyndale and stressed that there was more Tyndalia out there for willing researchers. The recent emergence of the second copy of the Tyndale 1526 New Testament gives all researchers in this field fresh hope that he is right.

# Stuttgart Tyndale Bible

After the British Library had purchased the 1526 Tyndale New Testament from the Bristol Baptist College, for one million pounds, another copy was found in Stuttgart.

There are four things this title page reveals to us: its journeys: its printer: Tyndale the man: and, Tyndale the theologian.

The title page of this New Testament is important because of the many bits of information it supplies to us about the printing, and also the travels of this book. Its value begins with the fact that it is the only known copy of the title page, and although it is not beyond the realms of chance that another copy has survived, the probability is very remote.

#### The Journeys and Preservation

The story of its travels sounds stranger than fiction, and yet it can be attested almost from the time it left the printing press. It is not the purpose of this article to follow this volume in its exciting journeys and the miracle of its survival. This New Testament is in such good condition because many of its owners were unable to read English and its value was not recognised. The Elector Ottheinrich of the Palatinate had all his books bound with his gold stamped portrait on the front cover and his arms on the back cover. His bookbinder dated them with the date he carried out the work and not the date the book was printed, and so the 1526 New Testament was not recognised because of the bookbinder's date of 1550 was assumed to be the date of the printing each time it was catalogued.

## (continued from previous page)

The conference ended with a lively discussion of the morning's papers. Not surprisingly many of the questions were directed at Dr Zwink. Andrew Hope proved to be an invaluable resource in supplying some of the historical detail of book exchanges. The buffet lunch was an excellent opportunity to meet fellow Tyndalians, pick up our copies of Reformation 2 and thank the speakers individually for their enduring hard work and contributions to our appreciation of William Tyndale's achievement. Make sure you don't miss out next time.

Vivienne Westbrook

We find that there are two later additions which have been made, and these have verified the journeys this New Testament has made during its lifetime. The first of these dates from the time it was in the Cistercian Abbey of Schonthal. The second is a stamp which tells of its days in King Friedrich I's library.

The margins are large and this volume was bound using untrimmed pages from the printing press, possibly because they were to be kept at the printer's either as a record of what they had produced, or as samples of the kind of work they had carried out.

#### The Printer

The New Testament was printed by Peter Schoeffer and the woodcut was obviously a favourite of his as it is found on other books he printed. One can almost imagine the person whose book was being printed being shown a selection of borders and being asked, 'Which pattern border do you want for the title page?'

The central panel was left for the title and author's name to be inserted. The border itself is not one which is entirely appropriate for the New Testament, and one can imagine William Tyndale and Peter Schoeffer discussing the production and the cost.

In the discussion I am certain that Tyndale would have been more interested in getting the maximum number of copies at the lowest cost.

The words inserted in the panel are important and they tell us about William Tyndale the man and theologian as much as about the contents of the book.

The newe Testament
As it was written, and
caused to be written,
by them which herde yt. To whom
also oure Saveoure
Christ Jesus
commaunded that
they shulde preache it vnto al
creatures

#### William Tyndale the Man

The first thing we notice is that William Tyndale did not have his name mentioned as the translator. I think this says much for Tyndale's theology and humility. Theologically it was right, for it was not 'Tyndale's New Testament', but the word of God, and therefore in the title it would have been wrong to have included the name of a man even as translator.

Only when he was forced to do so because of Joye's New Testament did Tyndale allow his name to be used so that people could know it was his translation and not that of another person. I do not think Tyndale would have responded as he did if Joye's translation had been a true translation of God's word.

His humility shows in the fact that he was not even mentioned as being the one who translated it from the original languages. The important people were 'them which herde yt.' They were the ones who wrote or 'caused to be written' God's words which bring life to His people. The translator was not part of that process. William Tyndale did not want his name to take anything from the glory of God and the fact that what people had in their hands was the holy Scriptures, the word of God.

The title page proclaims clearly that the New Testament alone has the words of life, and therefore the glosses of the medieval church hid the truth from the reader. Tyndale wanted the Bible alone to speak to the people with the prophetic voice, 'Thus saith the Lord', and this would have been weakened if his name had appeared in the title page.

# Tyndale the Theologian

Oure Saveoure Christ Jesus commaunded that they shulde preache, not the glosses of the Roman Church but the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the pure word of God.

Give diligence, reader, I exhort thee, that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health and of eternal life; by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ: which blood crieth not for vengeance, as the blood of Abel, but hath purchased life, love, favour, grace, blessing, and whatsoever is promised in the scriptures to them that believe and obey God: and standeth between us and wrath, vengeance, curse, and whatsoever the scripture threateneth against the unbelievers and disobedient, which resist and consent not in their hearts to the law of God, that it is right, holy, just, and ought so to be.

Those opening words of the *Epistle to the Reader* belonging to this edition of the New Testament tell us many of the things Tyndale believed were preached through the scriptures.

The wording, which has an affinity with the Dutch Delft translation,

shows that it belongs to the Reformation and its evangelical tone would not endear it to the conservative bishops who, even without this, were opposed to the Bible being translated into the vernacular.

The difficulty facing people who wanted to have an English New Testament went back to the Constitutions of Arundel where the translation of any text of the Bible into English, and the ownership of any translation made in the time of Wyclif, or later, was forbidden. 'It is a dangerous thing, as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of the tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept ... we therefore decree and ordain, that no man, hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or if the case so require, by the council provincial.' (Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vol. iii, p. 245). This led to the burning of the New Testament when it was found and accounts for the fact that so few 1526 New Testaments of Tyndale's translation still exist.

The miraculous preservation of the Stuttgart copy of the 1526 New Testament has allowed us to see the book as it was printed, and to see the title page. To me the wording of the title have not added anything to my knowledge, they are so obviously the words Tyndale would have written that they have only confirmed what I know of Tyndale the man and the theologian.

Ralph S. Werrell

# Invitation to Readers

I propose in the next issue of the Journal to write my final article in the *Post War Bible Translations* series which will cover the *Good News Bible*. The list of translations is virtually endless, and I invite readers to contribute articles on any that I have not covered, (be they individual books, Testaments or whole Bibles—there is a gold mine to be tapped) or, indeed, anything they would like to add to what I have said. Many may well take issue with what I have written and it would be interesting to have a discussion in future Journals. I look forward to receiving your contributions.

Editor

# Post War Bible Translations: The New International Version

The new translation which was to become the New International Version of the Bible was begun in 1968, after discussions which had started as far back as 1956 about the necessity for and feasibility of another translation. The cost was underwritten by the International Bible Society. Work was done from the start on both the Old and New Testaments. The New Testament was published in 1973, and the whole Bible in 1978, containing some revisions of the earlier New Testament. The translators and editors came from all denominations, with theologians of diverse traditions, so that the translation would as much as possible reflect the original text, not particular theological beliefs. The team, did, however, have to have a belief in the inspiration of the Bible, in line with the policy statement of the feasibility committee which had met in Illinois in 1965: 'It is the sense of this assembly that the preparation of a contemporary English translation of the Bible should be undertaken as a collegiate endeavor of evangelical scholars.' [1]

The method of translation was as follows: [2]

#### 1. Initial translation team

Each book of the Bible was assigned to a group of from three to five scholars, who produced a fresh translation by working from the original languages.

#### 2. Intermediate Editorial Committee

An Intermediate Editorial Committee then reviewed the team translation, checking it carefully with the Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek, and improving the English Style. The International Editorial Committees were composed of from five to seven editors, many of whom had served at the team level on one or more of the Bible books. These Intermediate Editorial Committees changed from session to session and this cross-fertilisation gave freshness and unity to the translation.

#### 3. General Editorial Committee

A General Editorial Committee then reviewed the work of the Intermediate Editorial Committee, carefully checking it again with the original languages for accuracy and striving to improve it stylistically. These committees also had from five to seven members, some of whom had worked on both the initial teams and the Intermediate Editorial Committees.

#### 4. Stylists and Critics

The translation was then sent to all the translators, to stylists and to other critics (not only to specialists but also to people from all walks of life) for their review and suggestions.

#### 5. Executive Committee (or Committee on Bible Translation)

The Executive Committee, a permanent body of fifteen members, held itself responsible for presenting to the International Bible Society a satisfactory translation. Hence it subjected every translation of the General Editorial Committees to a further close review. Taking into account all the suggestions of the stylists and critics and doing its own independent checking of the original languages, it made improvements on the General Editorial Committee translation.

(The top speed of the Intermediate and General Editorial Committees and the Executive Committee was five verses an hour).

#### 6. Final Stylistic Review

Then the revised translation was sent out once again to two select English stylists for a final check.

#### 7. Executive Committee's Final Reading

Moving much more swiftly this time, the Executive Committee reviewed the suggestions of the two stylists to see whether they were in harmony with the original languages and with the other stated goals of the translation.

(Steps 6 and 7 were omitted for the New Testament. Instead, five years after the New Testament was printed in 1973 a modest revision was made on the suggestions that had been submitted by the translators, other Biblical scholars, stylist and the general public.)

Although the translators had avoided as much as possible an American style of English, there were inevitable phrases and spellings which are not used this side of the Atlantic and Professor Donald Wiseman of the University of London who had participated in the translation programme was asked to chair a group who Anglicised the text.<sup>[3]</sup>

The writer of *The Story of the New International Version* outlines the principle which guided the translation: '... an eclectic one with the emphasis for the most part on a flexible use of concordance and equivalence, but with a minimum of literalism, paraphrase, or outright dynamic equivalence. In other words, the NIV stands on middle ground—by no means the easiest position to occupy.<sup>[4]</sup> ... There is a sense in which translation is like a seamless garment; in it, method and style are woven together. Though language suitable for both private and public reading has been a basic aim of the NIV, this has had to be sought for in the light of the literary and stylistic

diversity within the Bible. Faithful translation requires different stylistic levels: to a real extent it must reflect the character of the original. When the original is beautiful, its beauty must shine through the translation; when it is stylistically ordinary, this must be apparent. [5]

I give here the two Creation stories, to compare with JB and NJB quoted in my previous article.

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was formless and empty, darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters.

And God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. God saw that the light was good, and he separated the light from the darkness. God called the light 'day', and the darkness he called 'night'. And there was evening, and there was morning—the first day.

And God said, 'Let there be an expanse between the waters to separate water from water.' So God made the expanse and separated the water under the expanse from the water above it. And it was so. God called the expanse 'sky'. And there was evening, and there was morning—the second day.

#### Genesis 2.4b reads:

When the Lord God made the earth and the heavens—and no shrub of the field had yet appeared on the earth and no plant of the field had yet sprung up, for the Lord God had not sent rain on the earth and there was no man to work the ground, but streams came up from the earth and watered the whole surface of the ground—the Lord God formed the man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being.

Without being slaves to 'hallowed associations' the team were aware of the resonances of much of the phrasing of Tyndale/AV and avoided making changes simply for the sake of novelty. Many passages, therefore, have a 'familiar' ring to them. Take, for example, John 14.1ff

'Do not let your hearts be troubled. Trust in God, trust also in me. In my Father's house are many rooms, if it were not so, I would have told you. I am going there to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come back and take you to be with me that you also may be where I am. You know the way to the place where I am going'.

Thomas said to him, 'Lord, we don't know where you are going, so how can we know the way?' Jesus answered, 'I am the way and the truth and the life. No-one comes to the Father except through me. If you really knew me, you would know my Father as well. From now on, you do know him and have seen him.'

In The Story of the NIV<sup>[6]</sup> Professor Calvin Linton explains the translators' approach to the rendering into English of Hebrew poetry. They adopted what he called 'accentual scansion' which is based on relying on the natural accent and stress of an emotionally charged syllable, with a differing number

of accents in between, much in the manner of modern free verse. Here is the NIV version of Jonah's prayer:

"In my distress I called to the Lord, and he answered me.

From the depths of the grave I called for help, and you listened to my cry.

You hurled me into the deep, into the very heart of the seas, and the currents swirled about me;

all your waves and breakers swept over me.

I said, 'I have been banished from your sight; vet I will look again towards your holy temple.'

The engulfing waters threatened me, the deep surrounded me; seaweed was wrapped around my head.

To the roots of the mountains I sank down; the earth beneath barred me in for ever.

But you brought my life up from the pit.
O Lord my God

'When my life was ebbing away, I remembered you, Lord,

and my prayer rose to you, to your holy temple.

'Those who cling to worthless idols forfeit the grace that could be theirs.

But I, with a song of thanksgiving, will sacrifice to you.

What I have vowed I will make good. Salvation comes from the Lord."

And the Lord commanded the fish, and it vomited Jonah onto dry land.

One of the passages which has been cited for comparative purposes in this series is the opening of Hebrews, which has been tackled with varying degrees of success. Cecil Hargreaves writes: 'This passage is the beginning of one of the great traditional readings for Christmas Day and the Festival of the nativity. Some scholars think that vv.3 and 4 contain an early liturgical hymn, or strong traces of it. The whole passage is one long sentence in Greek, with many subsidiary clauses, a structure reproduced precisely by the AV. This makes the passage in the AV hard to read well aloud, which is a pity for one of the great classic pieces of AV wording.' [7] (Tyndale divided

the passage into two sentences—see volume 2 of the Journal—whilst NIV uses three sentences.)

In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom he made the universe. The Son is the radiance of God's glory and the exact representation of his being, sustaining all things by his powerful word. After he had provided purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven. So he became as much superior to the angels as the name he has inherited is superior to theirs.

Whilst JB and NJB lay out the opening verses of John's Gospel as poetry, NIV reads as prose:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning.

Through him all things were made; without him nothing was made that has been made. In him was life, and that life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, but the darkness has not understood it.

( footnote offers the alternative 'overcome it').

Romans 8.18ff does not read so fluently as the JB version I quoted in the last article:

I consider that our present sufferings are not worth comparing with the glory that will be revealed in us. The creation waits in eager expectation for the sons of God to be revealed. For the creation was subjected to frustration, not by its own choice, but by the will of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the glorious freedom of the children of God.

The vexed question of inclusive language has finally been addressed by the NIV Committee and a gender-inclusive edition was issued last year. God remains 'Father' and Jesus 'Son', unlike some other inclusive versions. Satan and angels remain masculine, but Mark 8.34, for instance, reads: 'Those who would come after me must deny themselves and take up their cross and follow me.' whilst Luke 4.4 now states 'People do not live on bread alone.' The non-gender-inclusive version is still available. This October (1997) Hodder Headline will be publishing the New Light Bible 'A new translation in the NIV family, designed for those who want an easy-to-read Bible which is clear and understandable.' This is in line with the modern policy of targeting certain reading-age groups which affects Bible translation and publishing as well as other literary genres.

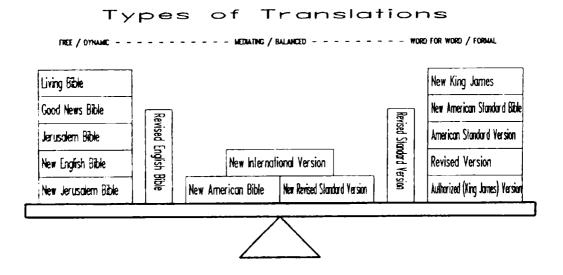
The booklet issued by Hodder Headline suggests the hope that the NIV might replace the King James Version as the single version which will be acceptable, but whether this is possible, or even desirable, is a debatable point. An article in the *Expository Times* (1990) suggests:

'Much as we might wish to possess a translation which has been "authorised" by all the churches, large tracts of which we could come to know by heart as we once did the Authorized Version, ... the different aims and methods of the various translations, and a greater awareness of the uncertainties surrounding the biblical text, mean that none should attain to that place. To make any one of them *the* Bible is to possess a sectarian spirit. We must place the translations side by side, neither abandoning the older translations nor limiting our reading to our own favourite version.'

I wonder what Tyndale would have thought.

Hilary Day

- 1. The Story of The New International Version, The New York International Bible Society, 1978, p. 8.
- 2. I quote from a booklet Questions and Answers about the New International Version, kindly supplied by Hodder Headline.
- 3. I am grateful to Professor Wiseman who kindly invited me to see him and gave me much valuable information and guidance, not only about the NTV but about Bible translation in general, when I was embarking on this series. Also to Dr. Martin Selman of Spurgeon's College, who serves on the advisory committee for the Anglicised editions, who granted me an interview and the use of the College Library.
- 4. I append a diagram kindly supplied by Hodder Headline showing where each of the main modern translations fit into this scheme.
- 5. The Story of the New International Version, p. 13.
- 6. New York International Bible Society, 1978
- 7. A Translator's Freedom, p.107



# Gleanings from Foxe: Thomas Whittle

Edited out of Foxe's Book of Martyrs (1563)

#### January Anno 1556

The Papists, being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's bloody and tyrannical murdering of the principal members of Christ's Church (whereof there were now very few which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else for the avoiding of this Popish rage, compelled to fly their natural country), continued still this year also in no less cruelty towards the more simple and inferior sort of people (I mean in degree, though, God be praised, not in steadfastness!), having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this history shall appear.

Wherefore (as the firstfruits thereof) to begin this year withal, there were about the 27th day of January burned in Smithfield at London, these seven persons hereafter following: Thomas Whittle, priest; Barthelet Greene, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabelle Foster, wife; Joan Warner alias Latchford, maid. All these were burned together in one fire.

The history of Thomas Whittle, who first recanting, then returning again, stood to the defence of Christ's doctrine against the Papists, to the fire.

Master Philpot made mention of a priest whom he found in the Coalhouse at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle of Essex. The same Whittle, being in the tempestuous and violent time expelled and deprived of Kirby [Cross?] in Essex, where he strayed now here, now there, as occasion ministered, preached abroad and sowed the gospel of Christ. But being apprehended at length by Edmund Alabaster in hope of reward and promotion, which by adulation he miserably hunted and gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the Bishop of Winchester who then was but lately sick, dying of his disease most strangely. But the apprehender, for his proffered service, was highly checked and berated of the Bishop, saying: Is there no man unto whom thou mayest bring these rascals but me? Hence! Out of my sight, varlet! Why dost thou trouble me with such matters?

The greedy cormorant thus being defeated of his desired prey, but yet further seeking after reward, carried his prisoner to the Bishop of London, as here we shall perceive:

Upon Thursday, which was the 10th of January, the Bishop of London sent for me. Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night lying upon the earth on a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the sacrament so grossly as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to Mass that morning if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered that I would have come to him at his commandment. But to your Mass, said I, I have small affection!—at which answer he was displeased sore, and said I should be fed bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days after appear. And then he led me into a little salthouse where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table and slept soundly, I thank God.

Then upon the Friday next, I was brought to my lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he, going to Fulham, committed me to Doctor Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon should commune together and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe I would be dismissed. But Doctor Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very sore to forsake my opinions. I answered [that] I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought [that] I should at that time have had no more ado. But he had made a certain bill, which the Registrar pulled out of his bosom and read. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous, for the effect thereof was to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the Catholic Church and live accordingly.

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it please the gentle reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands we have hereunto enjoined the same, written and conceived in their own words as followeth to be seen:

#### The submission of Thomas Whittle

I, Thomas Whittle, priest, of the diocese of London, knowledge and confess with my mouth agreeing with my heart, before you Reverend Father in God, Edmund, Bishop of London, mine Ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar or any of the

sacraments of the Church, which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wise by the Catholic Church. And I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, and also intend by God's grace always hereafter to hold, observe and keep in all points the Catholic faith and belief of Christ's Church, according as this Church of England being a member of the said Catholic Church doth now profess and keep, and in no wise to swerve, decline, or go from the said faith during my natural life, submitting myself fully and wholly to you Reverend Father, my said Ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times. In witness whereof, I, the said Thomas Whittle, priest, have hereunto subscribed my name &c.

To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do. And the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon, and earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had little joy thereof. For by and by my mind and conscience told me by God's word that I had done evil by such a sleighty means to shake off the cross of Christ. And yet it was not my seeking, as God He knoweth, but altogether came of them. Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands take heed and cleave fast to Christ! For they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him and make him to fall, both from God and His truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith: A righteous man, though he fall, he shall not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with His hand!—I, for my part, have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's present help pand comfort in time of need.

The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured by God's Spirit and His word that I, through evil counsel and advice, had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind and with mine other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came. And so I desired him to pray Doctor Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did. And when he came and the Registrar with him, I told him that I was not well at ease. But specially I told him that I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and His word, that I had felt hell in my conscience and Satan ready to devour me. And therefore I pray you, Master Harpsfield, said

I. let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it!—so he gently commanded it to be fetched and gave it me, and suffered me to pull out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me. Who trieth His people and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost. For in the midst of this temptation and trouble, He gave me warning of my deed and also delivered me. His name be praised for evermore! Amen.

Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of His hand. Of the which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one by means of His death and bloodshedding, which shall at the last day stand at His right hand and receive with others His blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ, and I by His grace am very willing and content to give over this body to death for the testimony of His truth and pure religion, against Antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly.

Thomas Whittle, minister

#### The condemnation, death and martyrdom of Thomas Whittle

Concerning the words and answers of the said Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the Bishop, upon the 14th day of January the year above expressed. Bonner, with his other fellow Bonnerlings sitting in his Consistory at afternoon, called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began as followeth: Because ye are a priest, saith he, as I and the other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the rite and form of the Catholic Church, ye shall not think but I will minister justice as well unto you as to others!—and then the said Bonner, in further communication, did charge him that when in times past he had said Mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late hath railed and spoken against the same, saying that it was idolatry and [an] abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again said that at such time as he so said Mass, he was then ignorant &c., adding moreover that the elevation of the sacrament at Mass giveth occasion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

After this the Bishop, buckling to the articles (which in all his examinations ever he harped on!), and coming to this article: That thou wast in times past baptised in the faith of the Catholic Church!—to this the said Whittle inferred again: I was baptised in the faith of the Catholic Church, although I did forsake the Church of Rome. And ye, my lord, do call these heresies that be no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies, and

[yet] ye ground yourself upon that religion which is not agreeable to God's word!—then the said victorious servant and soldier of our Saviour, constant in the verity received and professed, was again admonished and with persuasions entreated by the Bishop, who because he would not agree unto the same, the Bishop forthwith proceeded first to his actual degradation, that is to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and clerkly habit, the order and manner of which their popish and vain degradation hereafter followeth in the life and history of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus, in the midst of the ceremonies, when Whittle saw them so busy in degrading him after their father the Pope's pontifical fashion, said unto them: Paul and Titus had not so much ado with their priests and bishops! and further speaking to the Bishop, said unto him: My lord, your religion standeth most with the Church of Rome, and not with the Catholic Church of Christ!—the Bishop, after this [and] according to his accustomed and formal proceeding, assailed him vet again with words rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion. Who then denying so to do, said: As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word!—the Bishop then asked him what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar. Whittle answered and said [that] it is not used according to Christ's institution in that it is used privately and not openly. And also for that it is ministered but in one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Further [that] Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored. For the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by scripture.

Well, quoth Bonner, my lords here, and other learned men, have shewed great learning for thy conversion. Wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the Catholic Church, I will receive thee thereunto and not commit thee to the secular power!—to make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immoveable in that [which] he had affirmed. Wherefore, the sentence being read, he was committed to the secular power, and so in few days after [was] brought to the fire with the other six aforenamed. And the next day following, [being] condemned, did seal the same with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for the testimony of the truth.

Bill Cooper

# Gleanings from Foxe: The Coggeshall Heretics

Edited out of Foxe's Book of Martyrs

Next came the examination of Thomas Osmond, fuller, William Bamford alias Butler, and Nicholas Chamberlain, who were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris knight, and a letter with them, the copy of which letter here followeth:

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship, this shall be to advertise the same that the Constables of Coggeshall within your diocese, have brought before us this day persons dwelling in the town of Coggeshall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow: Nicholas Chamberlain weaver, John Waller fuller, Thomas Brody weaver, William Bamford alias Butler weaver, and Thomas Osmond fuller, for that they, at the feast of Easter last, have not obeyed the order of the holy Catholic Church in receiving the sacraments, but obstinately refusing the same, besides the holding of diverse other opinions contrary to the faith of the said Church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same persons unto your good lordship further to be ordered as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good lordship to the keeping of Almighty God. From Headington the first day of May 1555.

## Oxenford. Philip Paris

Thus being sent up, they were brought before the said Bishop the 17th of the said month to be examined upon diverse and sundry articles ministered and objected against them. Whereunto they were compelled to answer. These articles thus propounded and answered to, they were condemned as heretics and delivered to the Sheriffs. In whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the Sheriff of Essex and executed, Chamberlain at Colchester the 18th of June, Thomas Osmond at Manningtree the 15th of June, and William Bamford at Harwich the same day in the month of June.

In the same company above mentioned were also John Simpson and John Ardley, who, being produced first before Bonner in his chapel the 22nd day of May, were afterwards convented before the said Bishop having the articles with their answers laid before them. The Bishop, according to the old trade of his Consistory Court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place between the hours of

two and three. At what time the said Bishop, repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardley, did urge and solicitate according to his manner of words, to recant. To whom John Ardley gave answer as followeth: My lord, neither you nor any other of your religion is of the Catholic Church, for you be of a false faith. And I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length. Bear as good face as ye can, ye will kill the innocent. You have killed many, and you go about to kill more! If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in!

These with many other words he spake. Then the Bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced again to the unity of the Church. He answered as followeth: No! God forshield that I should do so, for then I should lose my soul!

After this, the said John Ardley being asked by the Bishop (after his formal manner) if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence of condemnation [read] against him, [the Bishop] read the condemnation against Ardley and likewise against Simpson. And so were they both committed to the secular power, that is to the hands of the Sheriffs. Whereupon letters certificatory were written by the Bishop to the King and Queen the said 25th day of May, concerning the condemnation of them both, as the manner of the bishops is to do. Upon the which date there was another letter also directed from the King and Queen to the said Bishop in the forenoon, concerning the straight handling of these and such other true servants of the Lord, the copy of which letter here ensueth:

To the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well beloved, the Bishop of London. We greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters unto the Justices of the Peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as forgetting their duties toward God and us, do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the Catholic religion of Christ's Church, wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver them to the Ordinary to be by him charitably prevailed withal and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions. Or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf. Understanding now to our no little marvel that diverse of the said disordered persons, being by the Justices of the Peace for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, either refused to be

received at their hands or, if they be received, are neither so travailed with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors to the dishonour of Almighty God and dangerous example of others. Like as we find this matter very strange, so have [we] thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or Justices brought unto you, you do use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors if it may be, or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws, so as through your good furtherance both God's glory may be better advanced and the commonwealth more quietly governed. Given under our signet at our manor of Hampton Court, the 24th day of May, the first and second years of our reigns.

This foresaid letter directed to Bonner by a post, coming from the Court about eight of the clock in the forenoon, was an occasion why these men were the rather thus judged and condemned in the afternoon following, as is before said. Whereupon they being committed to the Sheriffs, were conveyed to the place of execution where they suffered, the one, that is John Simpson, at Rochford about the tenth of June, [and] the other, which is John Ardley, the same day but at another place which is Rayleigh.

At the examination of the said Simpson and Ardley, there were assembled so great a multitude of people that (the Consistory not being able to hold them) they were fain to stand in the church near about the said Consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened in the meantime that the Bishop being set in heat with the stout and bold answers of the two prisoners (especially of Simpson), burst out in his loud and angry voice and said: Have him away!

Now when the people in the church heard these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they, desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way. Which caused such a noise in the church that they in the Consistory were all amazed and marvelled what it should mean. Wherefore the Bishop also being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asketh what there was to do. The standers by, answering, said that there was like to be some tumult, for they were together by the ears. When the Bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and

(continued on page 49)

## **Book Reviews**

## Hymns as Homilies

#### Peter Newman Brooks

Gracewing, 1997, (294 pp., £15.99)

The cover of this book sets out the author's purpose: 'At a time when the art of great preaching seems to have been lost, and the very faith that is preached often uncertain, Peter Newman Brooks draws attention to the timeless truths and riches underlying our most memorable hymns'. As the title suggests, the author emphasises throughout his survey the didactic and evangelistic quality of the hymns he has selected. He starts with Luther's A Mighty Forcess because, he says, 'The crisis in Christendom that was the reformation of the sixteenth century transformed popular worship, and Luther in particular gave such priority to music that he placed it "next to theology" and afforded it "highest praise" ... the so-called "protestant" faith was spread by hymn-singing, if only because, set to memorable tunes, such hymns were precisely the kind of sermons ordinary folk could grasp.' Luther, then, set a trend which was followed by subsequent hymn-writers such as Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, Augustus Montague Toplady et al.

Newman Brooks assigns a chapter apiece to twelve hymn-writers, starting each with a poor reproduction of a portrait likeness, and the full text of one of their most well-known hymns. He has selected hymns which will be familiar to most readers even today (if only through singing them at football matches) and he puts them with a short biography of the writer and a brief survey of their social and religious context. Each chapter contains a section which he entitles A Spiritual Treasury which covers further examples of the writer's output. The hymns of the eighteenth and nineteenth century are heavily represented but the author chooses to end his survey there without so much as a glance at works from the twentieth century. This contributes to the old fashioned feel of this book, which is reinforced by the author's almost sycophantic approach to the hymns and their writers, whom he defends against all criticism. Of Fanny Alexander (née Humphreys) he writes: '[she] was early acquainted with extremes of wealth and poverty, and it comes as no surprise to find that the editor of The Oxford Dictionary of Ouotations chose to represent her considerable written output with lines

that, no longer found in any hymnal, are nowadays a constant source of mirth as religion is scorned for numerous absurdities. Yet in their period setting

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
GOD made them, high or lowly,
And ordered their estate

—the lines Fanny penned as part of a simple children's gloss on creation in the creed—by no means deserve such ridicule and obloquy ... The hymn's third verse may not resonate with contemporary concepts of society or the fashionable "relevance" required nowadays. Some hold it to mirror Victorian notions of social control, and link the libelled [my italics] stanza to a mid-century clamour for political reform. But that does not make it either "wicked" or "dreadful". Quite the reverse, for as a period piece it must be set in context like all the hymns considered in this book. Together with most of her religious poetry, this is a moving "catechism-hymn" for "little children" and represents a brave attempt on the part of Fanny Alexander to analyse and explain creation and the human situation to the very young.' It is difficult to reconcile this sort of statement with the assertion Newman Brooks makes in his Preface that '... this essay has tried to weigh and convey the spiritual worth of great hymns both in their own context and as an incomparable heritage of no mere phase or fashion but of timeless truth.'

The book presents an interesting enough trawl through evangelicalism as presented in hymnody, possibly reflecting the author's own approach to spirituality, but it is to be doubted whether it will command a large readership. The language in which much of it is couched cries out for careful editing. I can make little of such sentences as this: 'For the men, women and children who can no longer cope with doctrine care a great deal about hymns, however much most of them fail to realise that, in such carefully-contrived compositions, authors who lived in very different periods of history from the present, effectively condensed the peculiarities of their preaching in precisely the kind of prayer and praise deemed appropriate to the effective communication of their gospel message.'

The first chapter on Luther may appeal to readers of this Journal, and there are items of general interest such as the doctrinal conflict between Toplady and John Wesley, though Newman Brooks has nothing new to bring to such issues, but overall this is a discursive and long-winded presentation of a potentially fascinating subject.

Hilary Day

## The Lincoln Psalter: Versions of the Psalms Gordon Jackson

Carcanet, 1997, (172 pp., £9.95)

The first question may be 'why?'. There are many (some think too many) modern Bibles which of course include translations of the Psalms. Sunday by Sunday Anglican worshippers sing David B Frost's versions in the ASB or Coverdale's in the BCP. The King James Bible contains a stately rendering often used for private devotion and occasionally for public reading.

The genesis of Mr Jackson's versions may be traced, despite his urbane and useful 'Preface', to irritation. A poet's irritation, to be precise. How many modern translators kept steadily before them the fact that the Psalms, whether sung, said or read, are poems? Was this a major consideration, for that matter, for King James's men, or even for Coverdale?

As a poet, Mr Jackson was an apprentice of the sixties, and a remarkably accomplished one. Now in full maturity he is master of traditional forms, inventor of a new line, and an unprejudiced user of free verse. Here he diverges from Donald Davie, for Jackson reverences the work of D H Lawrence and William Carlos Williams and their predecessor, Walt Whitman. Nor would he, I think, agree with Davie's opinion in the 'Afterword' to this book that all the good of the sixties took place in Cambridge.

Jackson does not claim that his versions are definitive. As a Christian poet, he is deeply engaged with meaning and form in the contemporary world, with making explicit what is so often latent in other translations. For example, his plain, colloquial Psalm 1:

O how well off he will be ...

Well off? Isn't this crassly materialistic for 'Blessed'? Jackson's word actually brings out the connection in Hebrew thought between righteousness and prosperity. In the context of the psalm it also re-values our notions of being 'well off'. It is a condition of ethical sociality, not merely cash in the bank. And what does 'Blessed' mean to a twentieth century person? (Finding a word for the Greek <u>makarios</u> in the Beatitudes seems to me a major headache for modern translators.) For sixteenth and seventeenth century men and women, 'Blessed' spoke of the vital affirmative love of God for man, and of his/her joyous reciprocation. Does 'Blessed' carry this weight today? 'Happy the man' (*Jerusalem Bible*), despite its Horatian connotations, won't do either. Our culture is soaked in the idea that happiness is a poodle or a fat cigar or simply the absence of pain or want. 'Well off' with its suggestions of health as well as wealth really does the job.

But does Jackson go too far with 'walked in the cousel of the ungodly'? Possibly, but he really makes me think what this may mean now: 'whose nose has not been led by the knowalls'. Vulgar? Fresh, certainly, reinvigorating and combining by alliteration and near-rhyme two colloquial expressions to demonstrate the vulgarity as well as the banality of evil. His translation speaks to twentieth century conditions:

whose feet have not been swept along with the crowd, who has not joined in the laughter of those who belittle whatever is decent.

There is much contemporary social and political criticism here. The brutality, the obscenity and the sheer conformity of much behaviour (including entertainment), in western culture and beyond, are put under the psalmist's microscope. Jackson's plainness deprives individual and group corruption of the wrappings of popularity and fashion. The translation, in its old fashioned severity and simplicity, is thoroughly modern. It speaks of 'the just society' and brings out that 'the way of the wicked' is actually the route chosen by those 'that get their own way'. They, we are warned, 'will live to regret it'.

In the preface to his translation of the psalms (*The Psalms*, Penguin, 1976), Peter Levi wrote of Psalm 119 that it is 'so complicated in its form as to be pedantic' (p. ix). He dismisses the abecedarian or alphabetic technique used in this and other psalms as decadent. He finally sinks the original of Psalm 119 by suggesting that it is 'the work of a student'. Would that there were such students about. True poet that he is, Gordon Jackson delights in the technical challenge of the work and makes his version fully abecedarian. In the opening lines we're back with 'happy' (*Jerusalem Bible*, Levi, *Revised English Bible*) and 'Blessed' (*RSV*, *King James* and Coverdale). The *Jerusalem* at first sticks to the Hebrew pattern for the initial line of each section, Aleph, Beth, Ghimel, etc. but Jackson, trans-lating, carrying across, subjects every turn of thought to the Latin alphabet from A to W, excluding only Q. Thus he equates twenty-two English letters with twenty-two Hebrew ones and makes every line in a section alliterate initially. Thus echoes of ancient English and Hebrew verse practices are combined.

Does it work? The opening line of Jackson's version:

Ah what joy is theirs who keep perfect step,

whose feet are sure in the dance of the Yahweh

seems to me a triumph. This is not pedantry but the celebration of how deep (rabbinical?) study of the word and will of God become the dance of life. This psalm, so memorable in Coverdale's version, does provide the apperently untranslateable:

For I am become like a bottle in the smoke (Coverdale) Though smoked dry as a wineskin (JB)

We know what it means, but how to say it in modern English?

Though I shrivel like a wineskin in the smoke (REB)

Again, clear but not of our time and place. What modern or recent domestic culinary smoking process can we evoke? Jackson:

Kitchen smoke kippers a wineskin;

I and shrivelled as much, yet I trust.

Alphabetic and alliterative features support the filled-out exactitide of this; and 'kippered' is still sometimes used of unwise sunbathers as well as of smoked herring. The ancient smoke-filled kitchen, the non-British wineskin are not concealed or falsified, but 'kippered' brings them across into our kitchen, our world.



Psalm 1, from a woodcut by Hans Holbein

Of course, no translator is uniformly revelatory or successful. I find Jackson's Psalm 122, verse 3, disappointing—or, indeed, largely absent:

Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself (Coverdale)

Jerusalem, a city built compactly and solidly (REB)

If the second plumps for one part of the meaning only, it does at least try for unified identity even if it sounds like town planning. Jackson has merely:

Jerusalem, most beautiful of cities.

This seems vague and unfocussed. Is he working from a different text or reading? This is quite uncharacteristic of his work as a whole, and his Psalm 122 picks up well later on. For me the best modern version is the *Jerusalem Bible*'s:

The city, one united whole ...

In general, however, this is an excellent book. Carcanet Press have done the poetry and Bible reading publics a service in bringing it out. They even preserve its double ending, two versions of Psalm 150. If you don't know who Gordon Jackson is and what he is about, Donald Davie's 'Afterword' does full justice to this great and neglected contemporary poet. Jackson's *Psalter* is a gift to Lincoln and to the English speaking world.

J C Davies

## (continued from page 43)

leaving his seat he, with the rest of that court, betook them to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the Bishop's house. But the rest being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the Bishop still out, and cried: Save my lord!—but meaning yet first to save themselves if any danger should come. Whereby they gave the standers by good matter to laugh at, being in manner in that taking that the old stagers of Oxford were when it was noised that the church was on fire (whereof we made mention before), saving that there the party then punished cast away his faggot, and so escaping was never heard of after! But here, the poor souls being stopped of their judgment a very small time, were immediately after called unto fire and faggot.

Bill Cooper

## Conference Review

## The Bible as Book: The Reformation, 28-31 May 1997

Organised by the Van Kampen Foundation and The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities, this conference was the third in a series entitled *The Bible as Book*. According to the program, its aim was to provide the voices and the forum for a fresh examination of the printed Bibles of the Great Reformation. The four-day event began with a reception on the evening of Wednesday 28 May. It took place in Hampton Court, Herefordshire, the largest medieval house in England, set on a breathtaking estate of over 1,000 acres. Chairing was Prof. David Daniell, who had gathered an impressive group of speakers from various disciplines, sharing a desire to interrogate and enrich the area of Reformation Studies.

The papers were to be limited to 20 minutes, leaving ample time for questions and comments. In his opening speech David Daniell voiced his one wish for those present: that they would talk and talk and talk to each other for the next three days. His request was granted, and the discussions which ensued after the talks were continued over lunch, lasted through to the evening, and were often reflected in the papers that followed. Between the sessions, participants were free to wander through the house and to stroll around the magnificent grounds, while pianist Kayleen Bobbitt played a range of music which won the hearts of all attending.

The scope of the conference was wide, encompassing English, French and American experiences of the Reformation. The opening session consisted of two papers: Andrew Hope provided a fascinating, impressive account of Robert Necton and the contraband book trade in England; and Richard Duerden successfully tackled the metaphysics of the English Bible, with the issues touched upon subsequently resounding through the work of the next few days. The two papers set the pattern for the entire conference, those speakers focusing upon the minutiae of specific texts complemented those approaching the Reformation from a more abstract perspective. Scott Carroll gave a thought-provoking lecture on the influence of a late fourteenth-century Bohemian New Testament on vernacular German Bibles before Luther, while David Norton imagined for us (with hilarious results) the painstaking work of the translation committee working under King James, and Guido Latré spoke on bibles that Tyndale might have seen in Antwerp.

There was considerable emphasis on highlighting neglected areas in Reformation scholarship: I spoke on the bible translations of George Joye, and Kimberly Van Kampen delivered a very interesting paper on the theological influence of the West Saxon Gospels. Various aspects of the Reformation in the New World were addressed by Herbert Samworth and Andrew Hadfield. Herbert provided a piece on the history of the Algonquin Bible of 1663, translated by the Puritan John Eliot. His account of the pioneering work was engrossing, and brought a great deal of unfamiliar material to light. Andrew delivered an entertaining and illuminating paper entitled *The Revelation and Early English Colonization*, which considered the iconographic depiction of colonisers and colonised, and the extent to which they were perceived as being either unified with their surroundings, or intruding upon them. Particularly valuable was his detailing of the contradictory sitings of the indigenous people as both morally superior and spiritually backward, and the role of the Bible in these characterisations.

This interest in the art of the Reformation was continued by Tatiana String, who spoke on *Politics and Polemics in English and German Bible Illustration*. She skilfully traced the use of anticlerical icons (such as the three-tiered crown of the papacy), demonstrating the way in which these politically-loaded images, common in German vernacular Bibles, were often effaced in later English Bibles. One of the most interesting aspects of Tatiana's stimulating, important lecture was her assertion that the scriptural woodcuts came to be used arbitrarily in English printing houses. Printers simply grabbed whatever was at hand, resulting in bibles filled with woodcuts of conflicting styles, dates, and religious positions.

Some of the more staple elements of Reformation scholarship were of course included: William Campbell ended the sessions on Friday afternoon with his detailed paper on Martin Luther and Paul's Epistle to the Romans. This concentrated on the christocentric approach of Luther, who favoured a thematic interpretation of scripture, in contradistinction to modern biblical scholars, who prefer to deal with each text or epistle separately. William detailed the various possible influences of Luther's interpretation, pointed out certain gaps between the Lutherans and Martin Luther, and sought to modify the current opinion on Luther's anti-Judaism, the seeds of which were inherited from Augustine. David Wright's topic was the Bible of John Knox. The basic assertion was that Knox's Bible was in essence oral: he did not approach the scripture as a work to decipher. Instead his biblical quotations remained in a state of flux, and were faithful to no single source text. This led to a very interesting discussion, in which the collective effort

of the participants identified several similar cases. It appears that the modern emphasis on correct quotation is simply that—modern, and that for the reformers, writing at a time when there was no concept of the English Bible, the emphasis lay firmly on transmitting the sense rather than specific words.

Importantly, the conference also gave time for ongoing scholarship. Bastiaan Van Elderen and Scott Carroll presented a paper on one of The Scriptorium's projects: a new edition of the Bible, based primarily on the Septuagint but also encompassing the Hebrew texts. The questions following soon developed into philosophical considerations of the notion of truth and the aesthetics of bible translation. Two speakers filled the place of Gerhard May, who unfortunately could not attend due to illness. Deborah Pollard discussed her current work on the formation of a concordance to Tyndale's translations, and gave us all an insight into the problematics of such an immense undertaking. Guido Latré offered a possible place of printing for Miles Coverdale's 1535 Bible, based on a woodcut containing certain distinctly Flemish words.

For many, the highlights of the conference were the papers given by Susan Felch and Andrew Pettegree. Susan's topic was the sonnet sequence of Anne Lock, based on Psalm 51. She set out to prove two things: that Anne Lock was a reformer by birth and by choice, and that for her sonnet sequence she relied on a surprising source. Having compared A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner with an extensive range of psalters (including George Joye's and Miles Coverdale's), Susan's research revealed that one of the most significant sources for the sonnet sequence was in fact the orthodox Latin Vulgate. This paper was witty, entertaining, and above all it was delivered with an absolute clarity and an intellectual focus which impressed upon the participants the need to re-evaluate the use of the Vulgate throughout the period of the Reformation.

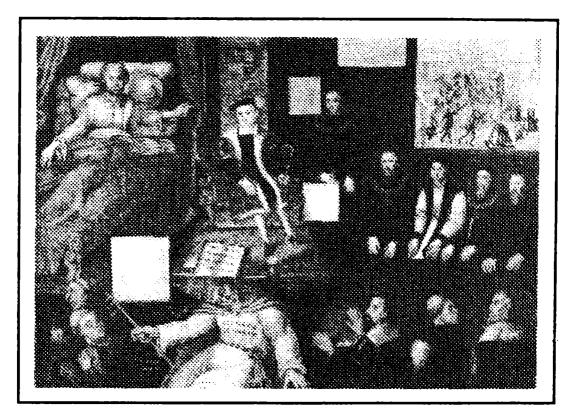
Andrew Pettegree's talk Militant Scripture: The Vernacular Bible in the French Wars of Religion was quite simply a tour de force, based upon work begun in St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute. He examined the use of vernacular scripture in France between 1555 and 1562, during which time the French brethren underwent a massive upheaval from being a small, educated, secret church to boasting a public congregation of some two million, the great majority of which was illiterate. Andrew argued that the process by which this was brought about could be explained in large part through the force of vernacular scripture. The price and bulkiness of complete Bibles made them difficult to use for widespread teaching. One response to this was the production of many popular, small books and

pamphlets, but these did not have the theological depth necessary for religious edification. Out of these contraries emerged the popularity of the Book of Psalms. Psalters could be easily carried and smuggled, and represented an effective teaching tool, bridging the gap between oral and the literate cultures. When sung, the psalms fixed the text exactly, therefore the songs functioned as printed texts would at a later date. In brief, the Psalter provided the perfect catechising tool for a movement expanding to include the illiterate. Andrew delivered this monumental piece of scholarship in a clear, straightforward manner, with an ease that derives only from a comprehensive knowledge of the subject. That this represents merely the beginning of the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute's research into this area makes its finding all the more impressive.

Our appreciation of Andrew's discussion of the music of the Psalms was considerably enriched by the concert of Reformation music held on Thursday evening. Arranged by Kayleen Bobbitt, the selection included Lutheran, Calvinist and Anglican psalms and hymns. The Angela Richey String Quartet provided the music, and Judith Van Kampen and Karla Van Kampen-Pierre recreated beautifully the way in which the psalms would have been sung in the sixteenth century.

Further aid in visualising the world of the Reformation was provided on Saturday morning, with a tour of the chained library at Hereford Cathedral and a visit to the Mappa Mundi exhibition. It was here that David Daniell delivered his plenary lecture, which ably drew together the themes and implications of the papers given over the previous two days, and suggested a vast amount of research possibilities inspired by the proceedings. The conference ended as it had begun, with each participant being greeted by the Van Kampen family and David Daniell, and welcomed into Hampton Court to enjoy a beautifully orchestrated evening. The Gala dinner which closed The Bible as Book: The Reformation exemplified the generosity of and the tremendous effort made by the Van Kampen Foundation and The Scriptorium: it was immaculately presented, flawlessly carried out, and highly enjoyable. Their original intent to provide an arena within which to re-examine the vernacular bibles of the Reformation was achieved with no little success. The people, the setting, the high quality of academic work, and the resulting vibrant discourses all converged to make this an exceptional and a memorable conference, where even the weather exceeded reasonable expectations.

> Orlaith O'Sullivan Trinity College, Dublin



Edward VI and the Pope: An Allegory of the Reformation Artist of the English School, c.1568-71

# St Deiniol's Library

## 1st-5th September, 1997

St. Deiniol's Library is an experience in itself and contains quite a large section on the sixteenth century, literary, historical and theological. There are many books for members of the Tyndale Society to read and enjoy during our time there.

When I suggested that in the years between the International Oxford Conferences we had a small one at St. Deiniol's Library it was thought to be worth pursuing. We still need people to book a place, and we still need papers for the morning sessions if this Conference is to go ahead and not remain a vision or a dream which I had. The cost £190 (or £145 for clergy or religious) is very reasonable for full board, comfortable rooms and the library facilities.

Ralph S. Werrell Tel: 01926 858677 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth Warwickshire CV8 1JQ

## Let There Be Light in New York

The New York Public Library takes up an entire city block in midtown Manhattan, between the glitz of Fifth Avenue and the notorious sleaze of 42nd Street. Its imposing façade, resembling a Doric temple, sits as a monument to 19th century ideals. One bitter day last February I ran up the steps between guardian lions and into the impressive marbled entrance hall—familiar to audiences of the film *Ghostbusters*. But I was in pursuit of something rarer and more marvellous than any ectoplasm.

Let There Be Light had grown mightily from its original form at the British Library. The jewel of that exhibition was of course the surviving copy of William Tyndale's 1526 New Testament—then thought to be unique. Round it was displayed information on the life and death of the man himself, linking the world-famous words and their forgotten creator in a manner to which the vigour of our Society is witness today.

In New York the exhibition had widened to encompass many other versions of the Bible and become more an investigation of the nature of translation itself. It was shown in the Library's magnificent principal gallery, which had to be very low lit to protect so many rare and delicate volumes so that a visit was rather like a journey of discovery in some mysterious cavern. Reflecting the multi-faith, multi-cultural nature of American society, there were charts comparing biblical passages in translations ranging from Tyndale and the Geneva Bible to modern Roman Catholic and Jewish versions. No prize for guessing which examples succeeded most consistently in both clarity and beauty of language.

I was immensely fortunate to be able to return to the exhibition a second time in May, after attending the London seminar of April 26th where we heard from Dr Eberhard Zwink of the discovery of the Stuttgart copy. His astonishing account of its preservation by a series of almost incredible accidents of history was fresh in my mind as I literally pressed my nose to the glass case holding both volumes, united for the first time in 471 years. The Stuttgart copy was a bibliophile's dream: since it left the printer's shop, the only change in its appearance had been the expensive leaher binding of Duke Ott-Heinrich, with the erroneous gold-stamped date '1530' which had concealed its identity for four centuries. Mint-fresh, the type of its intact title page was crisp and black, the immaculate pages were unturned, unread.

# The Tyndale Exhibition in America (continued)

#### **New York**

Let There Be Light, the British Library's Tyndale exhibition, a display of Tyndale's printed books and background material, with commentary, of which I am curator, moved on from California (see Journal 6) to open in New York Public Library on 22 February 1997. I understand that senior officers of the British Library went to New York and used the occasion of the opening to re-launch the American Friends of the BL. I found that I was not to be invited, nor even kept in touch: in response to my queries, I eventually learned from a fax from NYPL on 15 April that the exhibition was being a success, with about 1,200 visitors a day, six days a week. It closed, I believe, on 17 May.

[See the account by Mary Clow of the New York exhibition, on page 55.] On Easter morning, 30 March, Tyndale was honoured by being the subject of a short television feature as part of CBS Sunday Morning programme, which is seen in every part of the United States.

#### Washington DC

In the first days of June 1997, the exhibition moved to Washington DC, where it will stay until 6 September.

The three massive buildings of the Library of Congress ('the world's largest library') stand, white and very impressive, on the Hill, close to the Capitol itself. The Library was founded largely on the personal collection of Thomas Jefferson, to be a resource on all possible subjects for Congressmen, who still have their own private access—as if British MPs could stroll across a couple of quiet leafy roads to slip by a private door into the British Library. One of these immense structures, the Jefferson Building, built in the 1880s and 1890s in the manner of the Italian Renaissance, was re-opened in

## (continued from previous page)

Beside it the British Library's copy was a small, well-thumbed volume, seeming a lot slimmer (one could only presume from wear). No title page, of course, perhaps destroyed deliberately. Its appearance wordlessly told the tale: smuggled, clandestine, hidden, treasured, read and re-read.

Mary Clow

May 1997 after a centenary restoration that had lasted twelve years. The astonishing interior decoration can now be seen properly. When carpets, cubicles and false ceilings were removed, startlingly beautiful marble floors, decorated walls and lofty mouldings were revealed, made again in detail as they had been when the building opened a hundred years ago. In the North Great Gallery beside the Great Hall, the *Let There Be Light* exhibition was beautifully laid out.

I was there in time to help with the final assembly, and take a posse of eager Docents round as it was being finished. The Library of Congress Staff are enthusiastic. In particular the librarian in charge, the efficient and perceptive Carroll Johnson, was a joy to work with. I had been told that, by a Congressional law, the Library has to include half of its own holdings in any visiting exhibition, and this control has been handled by Carroll with tact and skill. Suzanne Salgado from the Visitor Centre saw at once the potential interest and, with her boss Terri Sierra, set things going for the larger world. Jill Brett of Public Relations arranged for me a long interview with the Washington Post.

There were two special occasions. The opening of the Exhibition on the evening of the 4th June was indeed a time to remember. An invited audience (in which it was a special pleasure to welcome Mrs Bonnie Matles, the American Secretary of the Tyndale Society) sat in a long, high, newlyrevealed painted room in the evening sunshine and heard an interesting speech of welcome from Dr James Billington, the Librarian of Congress, who was replied to by Dr Brian Lang, Chief Executive of the British Library: Dr John Cole, Director of the Centre for the Book, then introduced David Scott Kastan of Columbia University, New York, who gave a wellreceived lecture entitled 'The Noyse of the New Bible': Religion and Politics in Henrician England. Dr Cole then introduced me, and I spoke on William Tyndale: Courage and Genius behind the English Bible, a talk which included readings from Tyndale. As I spoke, I could see next door the dome of the Capitol building. The reception afterwards was the occasion for many questions to me about Tyndale: there is clearly acute interest. It was particularly important to me to have with me Dorothy, my wife, who had managed to arrive from England (because of airline vagaries, via Paris) ten minutes before the event began.

On Friday 6th of June Dorothy and I were invited to the British Embassy for a luncheon with HRH the Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh. At a reception on the terrace of the Residence, Prince Philip moved informally among the guests. The Ambassador, Sir John Kerr, in his speech after lunch

spoke of the Marshall Plan (of which that day was the fiftieth anniversary) and made a point of mentioning the Tyndale exhibition. Later in the afternoon, Prince Philip arrived at the Jefferson Building, and I had the privilege of taking him round the Let There Be Light display. He showed genuine interest. He paused for some time, asking keen questions, in front of the two surviving copies of the 1526 New Testament, Tyndale's Pentateuch, Anne Boleyn's personal copy of the 1534 New Testament (superbly displayed) and the autograph letter from Vilvoorde. He lingered over the last case, a contrast between the pocket-size, 'user-friendly', 1557 Geneva New Testament (carrying forward most of Tyndale) and the forbiddingly large, black-letter lectern Bible of the first edition of 'AV', the 1611 King James Bible—nearly all of which is still Tyndale.

Over tea in Dr Billington's room, Prince Philip was shown more of the manuscript treasures of the Library of Congress, and again spoke informally to us: he was presented with a copy of my Yale UP edition of Tyndale's 1534 New Testament (a copy of my biography was later presented to him). His Private Secretary, Brigadier Miles Hunt-Davis, asked me to sign a personal copy for his wife (Brigadier Hunt-Davis's wife, that is, not Her Majesty the Queen). Prince Philip left at 5.00pm for the airport and England.

Between other engagements in the next few days, I was able from time to time to slip unobserved into the exhibition and, as I had done in Bloomsbury and Pasadena, quietly note the special attentiveness of visitors to the story of Tyndale and to his work. The world is waiting to know more of this great man, so long neglected. The Tyndale Society has a special challenge ahead, to continue to try to do what we can to right some of the great wrong that has been done to him.

David Daniell

# **Society Notes**

2-4 July: John Foxe Colloquium, Jesus College, Oxford. Speakers include Professor David Loades and Professor David Daniell. Details from Professor David Loades, Four Seasons Business Centre, 102B Woodstock Road, Witney, Oxfordshire, OX8 6DY. Tel: 01865 201615.

- 8 July: Joint Evensong at St Dunstan's-in-the-West (where Tyndale preached) with the Prayer Book Society. St Dunstan's is in Fleet Street, London The service will start at 6.30pm.
- 1-5 Sept: St Deiniol's Library Week. Details below, on centre sheet & p. 54. 1 Oct: The Fourth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, Lambeth Palace. The Rt Hon Frank Dobson MP, Secretary of State for Health, on 'Spread the Word'—the Example of William Tyndale.
- 6 Oct: Gloucester Cathedral: Evensong with Men's Voices only. Lecture by Sir Rowland Whitehead, with supper. Details to be confirmed.
- 23 Oct: The Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture, Oxford. Prof JB Trapp of The Warburg Institute on *The Portraits of the Reformers*.
- 2-5 May 1998: Proposed Tyndale Society Tour to Belgium, organized by Timeline Heritage Tours. Accommodation is optionally reserved at the English Convent in Bruges (to be confirmed in February). Extra nights may also be available.
- 6-9 Sept 1998: 3rd Oxford International Tyndale Conference. Dates and venue to be confirmed.

Details of the above events can be obtained from: The Secretary, Tyndale Society, 10B Littlegate St., Oxford OX1 1QT, tel. 01865 791515, unless otherwise specified.

#### St Deiniol's Library, 1-5 September 1997, CALL FOR PAPERS

Papers are required for this week, both of one hour and of twenty minutes duration. A brief synopsis is to be submitted. Please state the planned duration of the paper. (There are six sessions during the week, each session having either one one-hour paper or three twenty-minute papers.)

Three after-dinner papers are also called for. The Revd. Ralph S. Werrell 2aQueens Rd, Kenilworth, Warwickshire CV8 1JQ

## **CALL FOR PAPERS for Pacific Coast Tyndale Conference:**

# America's First English Bibles

29 JANUARY - 1 FEBRUARY 1998, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

(On campus of Point Loma Nazarene College, overlooking Pacific Ocean)

Proposals for papers of 20 mins reading length on related topics are invited.

Please send proposals to: Dr. Barry T. Ryan,
Department of History, Point Loma Nazarene College,
3900 Lomaland Drive, San Diego, California (USA) 92106
(or via e-mail to ryanHP@ptloma.edu)

Please address other conference inquiries to Dr. Ryan as well. Costs on request.

